CHINESE ART OF THE WARRING STATES PERIOD
Change and Continuity, 480-222 B.C.

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F R E E R G A L L E R Y O F A R T

CHINESE ART OF THE WARRING STATES PERIOD

Change and Continuity 475-221 B.C.

THOMAS LAWTON

FREER GALLERY OF ART
SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
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Freer Gallery of Art

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Cover. Cat. no. 10. Bronze vessel, type *pien-hui*, late 4th–early 3d centuries B.C.
Frontispiece. Cat. no. 77. Jade and gold pectoral, 5th–4th centuries B.C.

Calligraphy by Shen Fu, curator of Chinese art, Freer Gallery of Art.

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戰國時代的藝術

羅蒙博士著 袁傳中署

Preface and Acknowledgments

New archaeological discoveries in the People's Republic of China continue to add to our understanding of all aspects of Chinese history and culture. For anyone interested in the arts of the Warring States period, those archaeologically attested artifacts provide essential comparative material against which to evaluate related objects in Western collections.

The Freer Gallery of Art has especially rich holdings of objects dating from the Warring States period, many of which were acquired by Charles Lang Freer before his death in 1919. Given the cautious dating of pre-Han artifacts that characterized traditional connoisseurship in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it is not surprising that the objects purchased by Mr. Freer usually were assigned simply to the Chou dynasty without any further definition.

Under the directorship of John Ellerton Lodge (1920–42), Archibald G. Wenley (1943–62), John Alexander Pope (1962–71), and Harold P. Stern (1971–77), many other outstanding objects dating from the late Eastern Chou period were added to the collection. None of those objects, however, came to the Gallery with a definite provenance, making it difficult to establish a precise chronological sequence or geographical location. The preliminary research done by previous directors of the Gallery, as well as by members of the curatorial staff, has been of inestimable assistance in my own study of the objects in the collection. As new discoveries provide relevant information that enables a refinement of dating and provenance, some earlier traditional attributions have been adjusted, and indefinite descriptions have been made more precise. In the field of Chinese ritual bronze vessels, for instance, two publications—*A Descriptive and Illustrative Catalogue of Chinese Bronzes* (1946) and *The Freer Chinese Bronzes*, vol. 1 (1967) and vol. 2 (1969)—are specific examples of the increase of our knowledge based on archaeology and technology.

The present catalogue and exhibition to which it relates should be understood as preliminary attempts to discuss the stylistic and chronological sequences as now understood and cultural significance of the arts of the Warring States period. Further modifications will necessarily be made as more information becomes available.

At some future time, there should be a large, comprehensive exhibition of Warring States artifacts selected from collections all over the world, especially from the extraordinary holdings in the museums of the People's Republic of China. With that type of exhibition it should be possible to improve further our understanding and appreciation of the artistic achievements of that relatively brief span in Chinese history. In the meantime, this catalogue and exhibition, lim-

ited to the collections in the Freer Gallery of Art, can only be a temporary statement, and they are offered with all of the qualifications that should accompany a preliminary investigation.

Even a brief period in Chinese history provides a remarkable variety of artifacts, and in an attempt to give some order to the exhibition and to the catalogue, I have arranged the discussions in broad general categories: bronze vessels, fittings, and weapons; bronze mirrors; bronze garment hooks; jades; and lacquer ware. Obviously, some objects could have been included in more than one of these general categories, and others—such as gold ornaments, iron garment hooks, quartz rings, and bronze swords—would require quite separate groupings in a more rigid arrangement. Since there are relatively few artifacts that fall outside the scope of my basic categories, I have simply appended them to the discussion of related objects. While I realize that some specialists may object to such simplification, I have tried to compensate for that arrangement by preparing especially detailed discussions for the few objects involved.

Some lacunae in the Freer collection of Warring States artifacts—particularly in the areas of pottery, textiles, and painting—delimit the scope of the exhibition. The very lack of those artifacts, however, suggests directions for future acquisitions.

Earlier exhibitions in the United States have included substantial numbers of Warring States artifacts, and I have benefited from the research done by the scholars who organized them. Thirty years ago in the spring of 1952, an exhibition entitled *Art of Late Eastern Chou* opened at China House in New York. Organized by Elizabeth Lyons and sponsored by the Chinese Art Society of America, that show was a pioneering effort that helped to establish guidelines for a number of important artifacts dated from the sixth to the second centuries B.C. Ten years later in 1962, again under the sponsorship of the Chinese Art Society of America and displayed in China House Gallery, *The Art of Eastern Chou 772–221 B.C.* was organized by Emma Bunker. In addition to those exhibitions and the catalogues that accompanied them, a number of scholars have discussed individual objects made during the Warring States period or a series of objects relating to different aspects of the artistic achievements gained during the period. Those scholars are mentioned in the text, footnotes, and bibliography of this catalogue. The seminal contributions of such distinguished scholars as Shang Ch'eng-tso, Umehara Sueji, Osvald Sirén, Bernard Karlgren, Alexander Soper, Max Loehr, Yang K'uan, and Mizuno Seichi should also be acknowledged again here. My debt to each

is clearly apparent throughout the catalogue, just as their writings have provided models that I could only attempt to emulate.

The research undertaken by Jenny F. So on the Chinese lacquer stem cup in the Freer collection was of great assistance in the preparation of catalogue number 134.

I am particularly grateful to Man-tang Wang for his many kindnesses in discussing translations of special terms. I am beholden to Shen Fu, both for his patience and understanding in discussions of problems relating to the exhibition and for the handsome calligraphy he wrote for the title page of the catalogue. Richard Louie, assistant director of the Freer Gallery, has encouraged me in every phase of the preparation of the catalogue and has corrected those passages where my meaning was unclear. He has also displayed his usual clarity in amending my erratic punctuation. The entire staff of the Freer Gallery of Art has been sympathetic and considerate to the many problems involved in the preparation of the exhibition and catalogue. W. T. Chase, John Winter, and Lynda Zycherman of the Gallery's Technical Laboratory examined each of the objects included in the exhibition. Whenever necessary they performed the cleaning and repairs that greatly enhanced their appearance. Technical reports on each artifact were an important reference in writing individual catalogue entries. I should make special mention of Raymond A. Schwartz, Stanley A. Turek, and James T. Hayden, all of whom were unstinting in their efforts to provide the

best possible photographs and transparencies. Martin P. Amt and Craig S. Korr were responsible for installing the exhibition. Robert W. Evans, building manager, and the members of his staff—Cornell F. Evans, John A. Marshall, and John Bradley—implemented the design of the installation.

In transforming my roughly written manuscript to clearly organized typewritten pages, I am indebted to Elsie Kronenburg-Lee. Her extraordinary patience and concern for accuracy made it possible to meet deadlines that had seemed impossible. Equally important was the support given by the Smithsonian Institution Press. Stephen Kraft is responsible for the overall design; Kathleen Preciado edited the manuscript with her usual good humor and insistence upon clarity of style. I still marvel at their perseverance.

Finally, I should mention Hin-cheung Lovell, who first suggested an exhibition of the Freer Gallery's collection of Warring States artifacts. When I agreed that the Gallery should indeed hold such an exhibition, it was with the hope that Hin-cheung Lovell would be here in her capacity as curator of Chinese art to lend special guidance to the completion of the task. Her departure from the Freer Gallery to the Far East resulted in an unexpectedly long delay in completing the catalogue and, I fear, in a text that is not as it might otherwise have been. In spite of those faults, for which I should bear full responsibility, I would like to express my affection and esteem for Hin-cheung Lovell by dedicating this catalogue to her.

Thomas Lawton
Director, Freer Gallery of Art

Historical Context

In the remarkably long sweep of Chinese culture—estimated by some contemporary writers to have begun as early as six thousand years ago—the roughly two-and-one-half century span of the Warring States period might seem but a brief interlude. Yet, it was in fact a time of extraordinary change. The Warring States period was an era of transition that might be described as the watershed between old and new China. Changes occurred during those years that affected almost every aspect of life, and some evidence of those changes is reflected in the cultural and artistic innovations of the period. Given the turbulence of those years and scarcity of contemporary documents, it is not surprising that subsequent historians do not agree completely on the arbitrary markers traditionally given to specific events or, indeed, to the dates assigned to the period itself.

Dating

The Eastern Chou dynasty (770–222 B.C.) of China is traditionally divided into two consecutive eras known as the Spring and Autumn period and the Warring States period. While there is general agreement about the names assigned to these periods, opinions differ as to when each began and ended. Aside from the political and social turbulence of the time and scarcity of contemporary documents, other factors contributed in those varying opinions. The more obvious ones can be traced to the different perspectives or different purposes of the authors as well as to a regard, particularly strong in China, for maintaining the continuum of history. A brief review of some of those opinions provides valuable insights into problems involved in a study of the periods themselves.

The name Spring and Autumn period is derived from the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Ch'un-ch'iu*) of the state of Lu.¹ Although the *Annals* actually record events that occurred only during the years 722 to 481 B.C., the name provides a convenient designation for the entire period beginning in 770 B.C. The term warring states (*chan-kuo*) was already in use during the late Eastern Chou period. Liu Hsiang (79 B.C.–A.D. 8), acting librarian at the Western Han dynasty court, apparently was the first person to use the term to refer specifically to the historical period that followed the Spring and Autumn period.²

A number of different dates have been proposed for the beginning of the Warring States period. Ssu-ma Ch'ien (145–ca. 90 B.C.) in his *Liu-kuo nien-piao* (*Chronology of the Six States*) in *chüan* 15 of the *Shih-chi* begins the period in 475

B.C., the first regnal year of Chou ruler Yüan. He may have chosen that date because it marked the start of a Chou-dynasty reign period and yet still corresponded roughly with the last date of the *Ch'un-ch'iu*. Similar considerations may also have prompted the Ch'ing-dynasty writers Lin Ch'un-p'u (1775–1861) and Huang Shih-san (1789–1862) to set the initial year of the Warring States period in 468 B.C., the inaugural year of the reign of the Chou ruler Chen-ting. All three scholars may have selected the dates with some concern for perpetuating the orthodox chronology of the Chou ruling house. For the Sung dynasty writer Lü Tsu-liang (1137–1181), maintaining a neat continuity between the Spring and Autumn period and the Warring States period apparently caused him to begin the latter era in 481 B.C., fourteenth year of the reign of Duke Ai of the state of Lu. More recent Chinese historians have followed the dating of the eminent Sung scholar Ssu-ma Kuang (1019–1086), who in his *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* began the Warring States period in 403 B.C., the year the leaders of the three great families of Chao, Han, and Wei were invested with titles of marquis (*hou*) by the Chou ruler Wei-lieh, thereby giving royal sanction to the extinction of the ancient state of Chin.³ The celebrated French sinologist Édouard Chavannes in *Les mémoires historiques*, also accepted that point of view:

Ts'in et *Tch'ou* n'étaient pas, à proprement parler, au nombre des royaumes du Milieu; leurs populations, bien que civilisées par la Chine, étaient de races différentes. A partir du moment où *Tsin* et *Ts'i* se perdirent par leurs dissensions intestines, *Ts'in* et *Tch'ou* devinrent les protagonistes du drame qui devait aboutir au triomphe de *Ts'in* et à la constitution de l'empire par *Ts'in* *Che-hoang-ti* en 221 av. J.-C. On peut donc dire que les origines de l'évolution qui aboutit à la constitution de la Chine impériale remontent à l'année 403 av. J.-C., et c'est pourquoi Sse-ma Koang fait débiter à cette date sa grande histoire intitulée *Tse tche t'ong kien*.⁴

Other scholars have correctly pointed out that the investiture of 403 B.C. merely gave formal recognition to the de facto separation of the state of Chin by Chao, Han, and Wei that had occurred fifty years earlier. Although the dukes of Chin continued to maintain the fiction of ruling their dismembered state, they actually had control of only a small territory and were forced to acknowledge the hegemony of Wei, Chao, and Han.⁵ Finally, in 376 B.C., Duke Ching of Chin was deposed and his territory dispersed by the three rulers.

Therefore, the tripartite separation of the state of Chin in 453 B.C. has been interpreted as marking the beginning of

the decline of the ancient states that had dominated events during the Spring and Autumn period and heralding the social, political, and economic changes that would culminate in the triumph of the state of Ch'in in 221 B.C. Consequently, some scholars believe the year 453 B.C. should be designated as the formal beginning of the Warring States period.

Herrlee G. Creel notes that while the *Ch'im-ch'in* ends with 481 B.C., the latest entry in the *Tso-chuan*⁶ is for 464 B.C., and so he places the end of the Spring and Autumn period in 464 B.C. For the same reason, Creel begins the Warring States period with 463 B.C.⁷

About the closing date of the Warring States period, there is no question. When King Chien of the state of Ch'i was captured by troops under the leadership of Wang Pen in 221 B.C., the state of Ch'in was, at last, in control of all of China. At the beginning of the Warring States period, Ch'i had occupied a position of eminence, being numbered among the powerful states and maintaining close ties with the Chou kings. The subjugation by the forces of Ch'in of a territory so intimately associated with the old, feudal traditions must have been a devastating psychological as well as military finale to more than two hundred years of internecine warfare. After such a triumph, the Ch'in ruler could, in fact, proclaim himself Shih-huang-ti or First Emperor.

To maintain chronological continuity and avoid any hiatus between the two periods of Eastern Chou and the thirty-four years intervening after the fall of the Chou house in 256 B.C. and the rise of the Ch'in empire in 221 B.C., in this catalogue the dates 770–481 B.C. will be used for the Spring and Autumn period and 480–222 B.C. assigned to the Warring States period.

Political-Military Developments

Even a brief survey of the important events that occurred in China during the Warring States period reveals some circumstances that are hauntingly familiar. It was a period dominated by a few powerful states commanding vast geographical areas and endowed with rich natural resources that enabled them to maintain large standing armies when necessary. The smaller states, hampered by limited resources, relied on shrewd diplomacy to maintain an uncertain autonomy. Each state, whether large or small, prided itself on the brilliance of its political advisors—men who traveled from state to state expounding schemes that were designed to insure a precarious balance of power. Military advisors and, on occasion, military equipment were sent to developing states in an effort

to divert the strength of an opposing state or to thwart a possible takeover by an opposing state. From time to time, the rulers of the states convened meetings to discuss political questions and plan future stratagems. Some of those meetings were of such significance that they might accurately be termed summit conferences.

At the beginning of the Warring States period, the seven large states, aside from the Chou court, were: Ch'i in the northeast; Ch'in in the far west; Ch'u in the south; Yen on the northeastern border; and Han, Chao, and Wei—the three states that originally had been part of the state of Chin—at the center. (See map, p. 11.) In the contest for supremacy that dominated the Warring States period, the main participants were Ch'i, Ch'in, and Ch'u. Yen remained relatively weak militarily, and Chao, Han, and Wei were never strong enough to seriously challenge the three major states.

During the Warring States period, the earlier practice of constructing protective walls or *ch'ang-ch'eng* ("long walls") along the boundaries of the individual states was continued.⁸ The skill and technique required to build this type of *hang-t'u* or tamped earthen rampart were based on millennia of experience in making foundations and constructing boundary walls and dikes to guard fields against natural disasters such as floods. When military preparedness demanded sturdy fortifications, those walls and dikes were strengthened and extended.

A number of states, including Ch'i and Ch'u, had begun to construct tamped earthen walls during the Spring and Autumn period.⁹ During the following Warring States period, the states of Chao, Han, Wei, and Yen also constructed long walls by extending existing barrier walls. In the latter part of the Warring States period, when nomadic tribes continually threatened the northern borders of China and destroyed vital crops, the states of Chao, Ch'in, and Yen constructed walls on their northern boundaries. Some remnants of those walls are still extant. After Ch'in had unified China, the first emperor ordered the northern fortifications to be connected so that those ancient barriers served as the foundation of what is now known as the Great Wall.

The Warring States period was a time of far-reaching social, political, and intellectual change. The ancient feudal system established at the beginning of Western Chou (ca. 1027 B.C.) with the Chou king and his nobles at its head was severely shaken by a series of barbarian attacks in the west and north.¹⁰ By 770 B.C., following the death of King Yu (traditionally reigned 781–771 B.C.) during a battle with a coalition of feudal lords and barbarian tribes, the military situation had become so unstable that the Chou capital was

Map of major Warring States period archaeological sites located in modern China.

moved from Shensi Province in the west to Wang-ch'eng ("Royal City") in the east, in the region of present-day Lo-yang, a transition that was a tacit admission of the decline of Chou power and influence.¹¹ By the end of the eighth century B.C., those nobles enfeoffed with individual states had grown so powerful that they could successfully challenge the authority of the Chou kings,¹² who became little more than nominal rulers of the dynasty.

One clear indication of the decline in royal power and prestige was the increasing disregard for observing traditional protocol toward the Chou ruler. When the first Eastern Chou ruler, King P'ing, died in 720 B.C., the duke of Lu, in a blatant breach of court etiquette, did not attend the funeral ceremonies.¹³ Less subtle was the defeat of royal Chou troops by the forces of the state of Cheng in 707 B.C. In the course of the battle against Cheng, the Chou ruler, King Huan, was himself wounded, an act that reflected, in the most tangible way possible, the lack of honor traditionally accorded the king.¹⁴ After the ruler of the powerful state of Ch'i assumed the title *pa* ("hegemon") in 679 B.C. and, as head of the assembly of nobles in the capital, was able to exert great influence on decisions, little doubt remained regarding the fragile position of the Chou kings.¹⁵

Even after Ch'in forces put an end to Chou rule in 256 B.C., the struggle for supremacy between the different states continued unabated. It is ironic that the Chinese states were unable to overcome their own animosities and join forces to defeat the invading Ch'in armies. If they had, Chinese history might have followed quite a different course.

The tortuous sequence of military conflict that marked the period is too complicated to describe in detail as individual states or groups of states sought to exert hegemony over their neighbors. Yet, in the absence of an easily available accounting of these battles, some of the decisive ones that were crucial, in retrospect, to the final outcome are outlined briefly.

The might of the Ch'in armies was clearly demonstrated in 364 B.C. when they overwhelmed the Wei forces at Shih-men in present-day Shensi Province, inflicting sixty thousand casualties.¹⁶ Once begun, the butchery of vanquished troops became a standard feature of Ch'in strategy. Again, in 307 B.C., the Ch'in armies embarked on a campaign of crucial importance when they attacked the Han city of I-yang, located in modern Honan Province. I-yang was a major walled city in the *chung-yüan*, or central plain, and the powerful Ch'in armies were eager to demonstrate anew their ability to threaten states in the heartland of China. When I-yang did fall, losing sixty thousand troops to the Ch'in, the

Drawing of iron lamellar helmet from Yen Hsia-tu, Hopei Province (after *KKHP*, no. 1 [1976]: 28).

states located on the central plain had every reason to regard their western neighbor with cautious uneasiness.¹⁷

In a particularly bloody battle in 260 B.C., the armies of Chao and Ch'in faced each other at Ch'ang-p'ing in modern Shensi Province. Chao troops, unable to breach Ch'in fortifications, were divided by a strategic Ch'in maneuver. Believing they had been promised that their lives would be spared, the entire Chao army surrendered. Instead, in an act of wanton savagery even for this period, the Ch'in slaughtered 450,000 Chao captives by burying them alive.¹⁸

Less somber aspects of the military preoccupations of the Warring States period are provided by the glittering bronze chariot fittings, some of them elaborately inlaid with gold and silver. Equally impressive are the refined proportions of bronze and iron swords, halberds, and dagger axes. Brilliantly lacquered shields, helmets, and body armor added yet further to the pageantry that seems always to have attended the battles on a grand scale. When drawn up in full regalia, the opposing Chinese armies must have been a sight splendid to behold.

Social-Cultural Developments

Seen in the perspective of history, the Warring States period was one of transition, when a new, more fluid social order began to emerge in China. Regardless of their origins, men of talent vied with aristocrats for positions of power and influence. Wealth rather than noble birth was regarded as the means of social status, just as merit rather than family background provided the stepping stone to military and civil

service.¹⁹ In spite of the marked social and political changes during the Warring States period, however, only a person of noble birth could aspire to the position of king. It remained for Liu Pang, an audacious, ambitious commoner, to reunite the empire after the collapse of the Ch'in and establish himself as the emperor of the Han dynasty, thereby completing the extraordinary transformation that had kept China in a state of military turmoil for several hundred years.²⁰

Specialized industries were established, their locations depending upon the availability of some local materials and/or favorable geographical conditions; with them, urban centers, many of them on sites already ancient and straddling travel routes of antiquity, emerged to play important roles in transforming the economy of the period.²¹ Greater communication between the various states through the development of roads and canals aided and encouraged these changes.

Among the prosperous commercial trading centers was the Han city of I-yang. A description of that city in the semihistorical *Chan-kuo ts'ü* states that the walls enclosed an eight li square and that there were 100,000 first-rank troops within them with a grain reserve sufficient for several years.²² The Chao capital of Han-tan in present-day Hopei Province was noted as a center for trade in cast-iron products. It was, incidentally, at Han-tan that the future Ch'in Shih-huang-ti was born in 259 B.C. Because of its strategic position and economic wealth, Han-tan was besieged on a number of occasions, sometimes for extensive periods, before it finally fell to the Ch'in armies in 228 B.C.²³

The growth of metal foundries was, of course, important in supplying arms for the soldiers of the various states. Yet, those same foundries also produced handsomely wrought vessels, rich with inlay designs, as well as delicately cast mirrors and garment hooks that speak more of the court than of the battlefield. Regardless of where or how those objects were used, the materials of which they were made ensured that they would endure even though buried in the earth for more than two millennia. Similarly, the growing ease of transportation meant that such luxury materials as ivory and jade were more readily available than in the past. Lacking those rare materials, artisans occasionally turned to bone, a more common medium, all the time maintaining an extraordinarily refined sense of craftsmanship. Dyes for richly colored textiles and rare woods from all over China were available to serve both the warrior and courtier. And lacquer, the unusual properties of which had already been known to the Chinese for centuries, was exploited anew. In fact, the exquisite refinement of the lacquer-artists' brushwork even-

Plan of Han-tan, Hopei Province (after *Ho-pei*, pp. 34-35).

tually inspired artisans skilled in other media to create designs that emulated those fragile, yet richly hued motifs that first appeared in lacquer.

Given the preoccupation with military conflict during the Warring States period, it is remarkable that the decoration of the artifacts themselves gives little or no hint of warfare, aside from those combat scenes that are generally regarded to reflect influences from beyond China's northern borders. Rather, a concern for visual and tactile richness, a delight in purely sensuous effects devoid of marked ritualistic intent, dominates the arts of this era of continuity and change.

Symbolically, Ssu-ma Ch'ien places the biographies of those individuals who amassed great fortunes because of shrewd business acumen in the penultimate chapter of the *Shih-chi*, entitled *Huo-chih* (*Money-makers*), immediately preceding his own postscript that completes the work. Although the backgrounds of the money-makers were varied, most were lowborn, and the comments about how they were able to attain financial success might equally well have been written by a twentieth-century critic. Tzu-kang, who had studied with Confucius, made money by "buying cheap and selling dear." He is described as the richest of Confucius's disciples. Pai-kuei took what others spurned and supplied what others sought. While he "spent little on food and drink, curbing his appetite and sharing hardships and pleasures of his slaves," he would "seize on any chance of gain as fiercely

Lacquered wooden tomb figure from tomb 1
at T'ien-hsing-kuan, Chiang-ling, Hupei Province
(after *KKHP*, no. 1 [1982]: 104).

inquiry. Confucius, who lived at the end of the Spring and Autumn period, was followed by men such as Mencius, Hsün-tzu, Mo-tzu, Lao-tzu, Chuang-tzu, Kuan-tzu, and Han Fei-tzu. Those men reviewed traditional religious concepts and transformed them in ways that had a profound impact during their own lifetimes and, analyzed and reinterpreted, have continued to influence Chinese thought to the present day.³¹

In spite of the intellectual ferment of the time, of what Arthur Waley has described as "the gradual inward-turning of Chinese thought,"³² it is noteworthy that the human figure appears infrequently in the ornamentation of artifacts made during this period. When man does appear, whether painted on cloth banners, incised or cast on bronze vessels or sculpted in clay, jade, wood, or metal, it is a curiously static representation with none of the elegance and grace—even ferocity—that marks those creatures, real or imaginary, that decorate the artifacts of the Warring States period. The artist seems ill at ease when depicting himself.

Only during the past few years with the extensive archaeological work in the area of the mausoleum of Ch'in Shih-huang-ti near Lin-t'ung, Shensi Province, has there been any suggestion of change in that view. Since construction of Ch'in Shih-huang-ti's tomb began almost as soon as he became ruler of the state of Ch'in in 246 B.C., some of the remarkable life-size pottery figures from the pits near the imperial mausoleum may have been made during the Warring States period. Those figures reveal a concern for portraiture and a sense of movement that broadens earlier concepts about early Chinese figural sculpture. Yet, when compared with contemporary representations of birds and animals, man—even in such impressive scale—is devoid of any equivalent quickening sense of animation.

Given the extraordinary political, economic, social, and philosophical changes that occurred during the Warring States period, it is understandable that most scholarly attention has focused on those developments. Equally remarkable and as enduring as all other achievements of the period, however, are the imposing artifacts produced in China during those tumultuous years.

Profound changes in traditional attitudes toward man and his place in society, as well as competition among the rulers

of the individual states for resplendent court regalia, are reflected in the marked emphasis on secular rather than religious art. Greater prosperity and improved communications resulted in more sustained contacts between the many states. The distinct stylistic differences that characterized artifacts from different parts of China, a feature that began as early as the late Neolithic period—that is, with the beginning of Chinese art itself—and continued during the Shang and Western Chou dynasties, became less pronounced during the Eastern Chou. In the Warring States period, some regional differences are still apparent. The archaeological recovery of artifacts from a single site or tomb with inscriptions clearly identifying them as having been made in different parts of China—whether obtained as wedding gifts, war booty, or official presentations from the ruler of one state to another—provides tangible evidence of the type of continuing cultural exchanges that would have enabled artisans to be familiar with artistic developments throughout the country. The increasing unity of styles, especially discernible in the late years of the period, is particularly noteworthy.

The sumptuously finished artifacts of this era are at once the final, glittering expression of ancient Chinese traditions and the worthy precursors of an imposing imperial style.

Notes

The Key to Abbreviated References appears on pages 191–92.

1. Traditionally thought to have been edited by Confucius, the *Ch'un-ch'iu* is a chronicle of events in the state of Lu. Similar chronicles apparently were kept for each of the feudal states, but almost all are now lost. Aside from the laconic record provided by the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, a chronicle of the state of Ch'in forms *ch'uan* 6 of the *Shih-chi*. Some record of the state of Wei is preserved in the so-called *Bamboo Annals* (see Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 3, chap. 4, pp. 105–88; and Keightley, "The *Bamboo Annals* and Shang-chou Chronology," pp. 423–38. For a translation of the *Ch'un-ch'iu* and *Tso-chuan*, see Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 5. For a discussion of the text of the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, see Burton Watson, *Early Chinese Literature*, pp. 37–40.

2. Yang K'uan, *Chan-kuo shih*, pp. 1, 8, note 1. Liu Hsiang edited the *Chan-kuo ts'c*, a collection of anecdotes, fables, and tales of famous people dating from the pre-Han era, circa 300–221 B.C. (see Crump, *Chan-Kuo Ts'c*).

3. *Ibid.*, p. 8, note 2. The essential details of the story are presented by Creel, *Shen Pu-hai*, pp. 14–15.

4. Chavannes, *Les mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, 5:1–2. "Ch'in and Ch'u were not, properly speaking, one of the kingdoms of the Middle; their populations, although civilized by the Chinese, were of different races. From the moment when *Ch'in* and *Ch'i* were lost in their internal dissensions, *Ch'in* and *Ch'u* became the protagonists in a drama that would end in the triumph of *Ch'in* and the establishment of the empire of *Ch'in* *Shih-huang-ti* in 221 B.C. Thus, one can say that the origins of the revolution that ended in the establishment of imperial China can be traced to the year 403 B.C., and that is why Ssu-ma Kuang makes that date the beginning of his great history entitled, *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien*."

5. Events in Ch'i, one of the largest and most powerful states during the Spring and Autumn period and the early Warring States period, also reflect the dramatic changes that were possible in Eastern Chou. Members of the Ch'en family fled their own state of Ch'en and sought refuge in Ch'i, where they changed their surname to T'ien. By 481 B.C. the influence of the T'ien family was so great that T'ien Ch'ang killed Duke Chien of Ch'i and set up a puppet ruler while assuming the reins of power himself. T'ien Ch'ang's grandson, T'ien Ho, was given a place among the feudal lords in 386 B.C., and in 384 his son became Duke Huan of Ch'i (for details, see *Tso-chuan*, twenty-second year of the reign of Duke Chuang; Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 5:103; *Shih-chi*, *Shih-erh chu-hou nien-piao*, *ch'uan* 14).

6. The *Tso-chuan* takes its name from the putative author, Tso Ch'iu-ming or Tso-ch'iu Ming. The work is generally agreed to be a genuine compilation of Chou date that probably was assembled in the third century B.C., although certain additions appear to have been made toward the end of the Western Han. The work begins in 722 B.C., the first year of the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, but the narrative is carried to 464 B.C., seventeen years after the *Annals* stop.

7. Creel, *The Origins of Statecraft in China*, p. 47, notes 18–19. Paul Wheatley follows Creel in accepting 463 B.C. as the first year of the Warring States period (see Wheatley, *The Pivot of the Four Quarters*, p. 114).

8. Yang K'uan, *Chan-kuo shih*, pp. 140–41. See also Chang Sen-dou, "The Morphology of Walled Capitals," pp. 75–100. Ichisada Miyazaki describes changes in the function of the double walls in the capitals of the feudal states in ancient China. Miyazaki believes the interior walls, or *ch'eng*, were defensive in intent, since they were meant to protect the feudal lords against possible attacks from their enemies. The interior walls surrounded the lord's dwelling, which was situated on a rise in the center of the city. The exterior walls, according to Miyazaki, were considerably less formidable, serving mainly to protect the people against criminals or savage animals and, at the same time, to hinder their running away. Those exterior walls were called *kuo*, signifying that they "surrounded" and did not have military value. While an invading army might scale the exterior walls, pillage the homes of the people, and inflict great damage, the lord would remain safe within the inner walls.

In Miyazaki's view, the lords gradually reinforced the defenses of the entire city and heightened the exterior walls at the price of neglecting their own citadels. By the end of the Warring States period, the protection of the citadel at the center of the city was more and more neglected, and the exterior walls became the principal fortification. The differences formerly implied in the terms *ch'eng* and *kuo* disappeared, since most of the cities had only exterior walls, which were referred to as either *ch'eng* or *kuo* (see Miyazaki, "Les villes en China à l'époque des Han," pp. 386–87).

For a different interpretation, see Wheatley, *The Pivot of the Four Quarters*, pp. 187–89. F. W. Mote gives a sensitive evaluation of the differences between walled cities in China and those in medieval Europe (see Mote, "The Transformation of Nanking," pp. 110–19).

9. *WW*, no. 2 (1957): 12.

10. For a detailed discussion of the Western Chou regime, see Creel, *The Origins of Statecraft in China*.

11. King Yu is traditionally said to have become so enamored of a beautiful but evil concubine, Pao-ssu, that he neglected his duties. He has become one of the prototypes of the Chinese ruler who loses his throne because he fails to observe correct moral conduct (see Herrlee G. Creel, *The Birth of China* [New York, 1954], pp. 240–43; *idem*, *The Origins of Statecraft in China*, pp. 438–39).

12. Hsu discusses the changes in the Eastern Chou in his impressive study *Ancient China in Transition*.

13. *Tso-chuan*, third year of the reign of Duke Yin; fifth year of the reign of Duke Huan, Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, bk. 1, vol. 2, pp. 12–13, 44–46. Both King P'ing and King Huan of the Eastern Chou had resisted attempts by the dukes of Cheng to dominate royal government. Finally in 707 B.C., King Huan took the drastic step of excluding the duke of Cheng from any participation in affairs of state. Further, the king led troops in an attack on Cheng. The king's forces were defeated, and the king himself was wounded, but he was still able to retreat (see Creel, *The Origins of Statecraft in China*, pp. 7–8).

14. *Shih-chi*, *Shih-erh chu-hou nien-piao*, chüan 14.

15. Ibid.

16. *Shih-chi*, *Liu-kuo nien-piao*, chüan 15.

17. Ibid.

18. The figures, taken from *Liu-kuo nien-piao* of the *Shih-chi* (chüan 15), have been questioned by some scholars as unreliable, since the Ch'in, as victors, may have inflated the number of captives to make their forces appear invincible. Hsu in *Ancient China in Transition*, pp. 67–68, however, supports the figures.

19. See discussion by Hsu in *Ancient China in Transition*, pp. 24–52.

20. For a convenient, detailed presentation of events at the end of the Ch'in dynasty and beginning of the Western Han, see Homer H. Dubs, trans., *The History of the Former Han Dynasty* (Baltimore, 1938), 1:1–15, especially pp. 13–15. Traditional attitudes toward the ruling aristocracy continued to have considerable influence, and a false lineage connecting Liu Pang with the nobility of the state of Chin was considered necessary (see *ibid.*, pp. 146–50).

21. Opinions differ as to whether cities developed because of trade or vice versa. There is every reason to believe, however, that in China tradesmen were centered in towns from very early times

(see Étienne Balazs, "Chinese Towns," in *Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy* [New Haven and London, 1964], pp. 66–78; Mote, "The Transformation of Nanking," pp. 101–53, especially pp. 101–19; and Wheatley, *The Pivot of the Four Quarters*, pp. 107–12).

22. Crump, *Chan-Kuo Ts'e*, p. 39. A site that has been identified as ancient I-yang was unearthed in 1959 (see *KK*, no. 1 [1961]: 32).

23. The site was investigated in 1939 by Kumai Kazuchika and Sekino Takeshi, *Han-tan*; also see Sekino in *Chūgoku kōkogaku kenkyū*, pp. 295–302; *KK*, no. 10 (1959): 531–36, no. 2 (1962): 613–34. There has been some debate as to the date of the siege of Han-tan by Wei. Both Ch'ien Mu and Ch'en Meng-chia believe the siege took place in 354 B.C. (see Ch'ien Mu, *Hsien Ch'in chu-tzu hsi-men*, pp. 240–44; Ch'en Meng-chia, "Liu-kuo chi-nien piao," pp. 80–81; Han-tan shih wen-wu pao-kuan so, "Chao Han-tan ku-ch'eng," *WW*, no. 12 [1981]: 85–86).

24. Wheatley, *The Pivot of the Four Quarters*, pp. 126–28; Yang Hsien-i and Gladys Yang, *Records of the Grand Historian* (Hong Kong, 1974), pp. 410–28.

25. *KK*, no. 6 (1961): 289–97; *WW*, no. 5 (1972): 45–54; and *KKHP*, no. 1 (1977): 73–104.

26. *Ch'i T'ai-kung shih-chia*, chüan 32.

27. *Shih-chi*, *Ch'in Shih-huang pen-chi erh-shih-liu nien*, chüan 32.

28. Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 2, chap. 3, pp. ii, vi.

29. *Shih-chi*, chüan 69. The same description appears in *Chan-kuo ts'e*, *Ch'i-i* (see Crump, *Chan-Kuo Ts'e*, pp. 157–58).

30. Yang K'uan, *Chan-kuo shih*, p. 47.

31. For discussions of these complex developments, see K. C. Hsiao, *A History of Chinese Political Thought* (Princeton, 1979), chap. 1–7; F. W. Mote, *Intellectual Foundations of China* (New York, 1971); and Arthur Waley, *Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China* (New York, 1956).

32. Arthur Waley, *The Way and Its Power* (London, 1934), p. 43.

Bronze Vessels, Fittings, and Weapons

The beginning of official excavations at the Shang dynasty site near Anyang, Honan Province, in 1928 marked a turning point in Western researches on Chinese bronze vessels. Continuing until 1937, those pioneer investigations provided scholars with a wide range of valuable archaeologically attested artifacts. After a pause in archaeological work during the Sino-Japanese War (1937–45), the number of excavations expanded dramatically. Since 1949 information from sites throughout the People's Republic of China has provided new and exciting data with which scholars are refining earlier theories about all aspects of Chinese bronze ritual vessels, fittings, and weapons.

Prior to 1928 so few reliably datable examples were available that Western specialists were reluctant to assign precise dates to Chinese bronzes. Consequently, in Western books and articles written during the early years of the twentieth century, it is not unusual to find vessels assembled under such broad dynastic categories as "Chou-Han." With the comparative material available today, many of those same bronzes can be dated to specific periods of the Shang and Chou dynasties.

Western attempts to achieve greater precision in the dating of Chinese bronze vessels also came in the 1920s as the result of several important accidental discoveries in north China. One of the earliest of those discoveries, made in 1923, occurred at Li-yü-ts'un in Hun-yüan Hsien, Shansi Province. The basic details of that extraordinary cache of bronze vessels are provided by Georges Salles in his article, "Les bronzes de Li-yü."¹ According to Salles, the local Chinese peasants appropriated a number of bronze vessels from the Li-yü cache before the district magistrate arrived to take official charge of them. As a result, L. Wannieck, a French businessman who happened to be in the vicinity, was able to acquire some of those bronzes that had been hidden by the peasants. Wannieck took the bronzes to Paris, where they were exhibited in 1924 at the Musée Cernuschi.²

While Western scholars immediately recognized the exceptional quality of the bronze vessels from Li-yü, there remained some uncertainty about their age, especially since none of the pieces carried an inscription that might help in dating.³ Writing in 1926, Jean Henri d'Ardenne de Tizac assigned the Li-yü bronzes to the Ch'in dynasty (221–206 B.C.).⁴ Several years later, the distinguished Swedish art historian Osvald Sirén also accepted a Ch'in date for the Li-yü bronzes and described them as illustrating "a mode of ornamentation which seems to have become popular in the third century B.C. and which was still employed during the earlier Han dynasty."⁵ Sirén did, however, question the sug-

gestion made by the Chinese who lived in the area of Li-yü that the vessels had been used by the first Ch'in emperor at a ceremonial sacrifice.⁶

The Ch'in date assigned to Li-yü-style bronzes was examined critically by an international group of specialists and collectors meeting in Stockholm in 1933 at the same time that an exhibition of early Chinese bronzes opened in the Swedish capital. As the group sought a more precise dating of the so-called Ch'in style, they learned of an important new study by the Chinese scholar Hsü Chung-shu, which discussed the inscriptions on a set of bronze bells, the so-called Piao bells, from yet another chance find of bronze vessels. Hsü proposed the date of 550 B.C. for the bells, which appeared in 1928 during the clandestine excavations of eight tombs and six horse pits at Chin-ts'un, near the ancient city of Loyang, in Honan Province.⁷ Although one of the richest of Warring States finds known at that time, the circumstances under which the Chin-ts'un find were carried out left unanswered many questions about their date and provenance.

The relationship between the decoration on the Piao bells said to have been unearthed at Chin-ts'un and on the vessels from Li-yü made it clear that the prevalent Ch'in date for Li-yü-style bronzes would have to be revised. The group meeting in Stockholm in 1933 cautiously proposed "seventh or sixth to third century B.C." as the new dates for the Li-yü style.⁸

A particularly dramatic addition to our knowledge of Li-yü-style bronzes came in 1959 when excavations at Hou-ma in Shansi Province yielded some thirty thousand pottery fragments of molds and models in Li-yü style. Judging from the size of the foundry site at Hou-ma, as well as the extraordinary number and quality of the molds and models, Hou-ma must have been an important center for bronze casting during the late Spring and Autumn and early Warring States periods.⁹

Louisa Hüber proposes a convincing theory for the evolution of the Li-yü style. She traces its beginnings from a series of bells datable circa 575–550 B.C. from the state of Ch'i and identifies the angular decor that was gradually transformed into more curvilinear forms by the Li-yü artisans of the state of Chin.¹⁰ For the sequence of the Li-yü style itself, Max Loehr has suggested three successive stages, spanning the period circa 525 B.C. to 482 B.C. According to Loehr's chronology, the entire sequence developed during the late Spring and Autumn period and just precedes the Warring States period.¹¹

Bronzes decorated with precisely cast motifs continued to

be made during the Warring States period. But marked changes in the decor signaled quite a new direction in the ornamentation of those artifacts. Briefly stated, the change in bronze decoration during the Warring States period can be seen as a gradual transformation of motifs from the zoomorphic to the geometric. The variety of those motifs, some of which can be associated with specific geographical regions and with specific states, continues to increase as new and more detailed archaeological reports from the People's Republic of China become available.

A specific aspect of the change in bronze decoration during the Warring States period is clearly evident in the relationship between figure and ground. Although the principle of symmetry continued to prevail, the differentiation between figure and ground that pertained during earlier periods was replaced by a greater interest in rich overall patterning. To achieve a more sumptuous visual effect, bronze artisans experimented with a wide variety of complex motifs in which the clear definition between figure and ground was subordinated to a luxurious, even ostentatious, technical display.

Developing techniques that began as early as the Spring and Autumn period, artisans embellished the surfaces of the vessels with designs inlaid in a wide variety of colorful materials, including gold, silver, copper, turquoise, and glass. Guided essentially by secular concerns, the inlay designs can be seen as the last major innovation of China's archaic bronze tradition. In addition, lacquer was sometimes used to decorate bronze vessels, thereby introducing a degree of calligraphic fluency that was entirely new and which, eventually, had its own influence upon bronze inlay patterns.¹²

While it is not possible to review the hundreds of archaeological sites that have yielded Warring States bronze vessels, two excavations that took place within the last few years deserve special mention since they provide examples of varied cultural influences during different phases of the Warring States period. A large tomb identified as being that of Marquis I of the state of Tseng was unearthed in 1978 at Sui Hsien, Hupei Province.¹³ Although other Warring States tombs have been found in that area, the unusual size, rich funerary furnishings, and precise date of the tomb associated with Marquis I lend it particular importance. The heavy timbered covering of the tomb, large lacquered inner and outer sarcophagi, and style of the bronze vessels all reflect the influence of Ch'u traditions. Information contained in one of the bronze inscriptions and on the bamboo slips found in the tomb demonstrate the close relationship between the states of Tseng and Ch'u.¹⁴

Aside from the number of bronzes (about two hundred),

Bronze caryatid figure from tomb of Marquis I of the state of Tseng, Sui Hsien, Hupei Province (after *Sui Hsien*, pl. 11).

their sheer weight (about ten tons) gives the Sui Hsien find the distinction of yielding the heaviest collection of ancient bronzes ever to have been excavated from a single tomb in China.¹⁵ Those bronzes include a set of sixty-four bells with lengthy inlaid gold inscriptions on their surfaces that provide valuable information about the terminology and performance of early Chinese music.¹⁶ On the sixty-fifth bell is an inscription stating that it was a gift to Marquis I from King Hui of the state of Ch'u. That inscription, dated to the fifty-sixth year of the Ch'u ruler's reign (433 B.C.), has enabled scholars to assign the tomb to the late fifth century B.C.

The three-tiered wooden frame from which the bells were suspended is fitted with intricately modeled cast bronze finials.¹⁷ Especially noteworthy are the six bronze standing figures that serve as caryatids to support the horizontal wooden beams of the bell frame. The three taller bronze figures stand approximately two-and-one-half feet high. All six figures wear swords.¹⁸ In their rigid frontality, the figures are the precursors of the still larger bronze figures recently unearthed near the Ch'in imperial mausoleum at Lin-t'ung, Shensi Province.¹⁹

Even more complex and, ultimately, more significant in their casting technique than the bells are many of the 140 bronze ritual vessels from the tomb at Sui Hsien. Most of

those bronzes were found together with the bells in the rectangular central chamber. The intricate filigree of the bronze decoration on those vessels leaves little doubt that they were cast by the lost-wax method.²⁰

Equally remarkable are the bronzes found in the tombs of the state of Chung-shan at P'ing-shan, Hopei Province.²¹ Chung-shan was one of the smaller peripheral states that contended for survival with Chao, Ch'i, Ch'in, Ch'u, Han, Wei, and Yen, the seven powerful states that dominated events during the Warring States period.²² The Chung-shan people traditionally are said to have been descended from the nomadic Pai-ti tribes, who are believed to have made incursions into the area of northern Shensi and northwestern Shansi as early as the eighth century B.C.²³ By the sixth century B.C. when the Pai-ti had settled in Hopei Province, they were referred to as the Hsien-yü.²⁴ In spite of several serious political reversals, the state of Chung-shan managed to exist side by side with its ambitious neighbors until 296 B.C. when it was defeated by the state of Chao.

From 1974 to 1978, extensive archaeological work in Hopei Province in the area originally occupied by the state of Chung-shan resulted in the discovery of more than thirty tombs dating from the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods. Those tombs yielded a rich archaeological bounty of more than nineteen thousand objects, of which the finds from tombs 1 and 6 are particularly noteworthy. Each of those tombs was part of a burial complex that included auxiliary offering, sacrificial, and horse-and-chariot pits. From information provided in the long inscriptions cut into the surfaces of some of the bronze vessels from the tombs, the site has been identified as ancient Ling-shou, the capital of Chung-shan during the Warring States period, and tombs 1 and 6 have been designated as royal mausoleums. Besides naming some Chung-shan rulers who were not mentioned in traditional records, the information in the inscriptions has enabled scholars to date the P'ing-shan tombs to the final decade of the fourth century B.C.

The appearance of these long inscriptions, together with those found on bronzes from Sui Hsien, is in marked contrast to the usual scarcity of inscriptions on objects from Warring States tombs. Aside from those lengthy inscriptions on bamboo slips and silk manuscripts found in tombs associated with the state of Ch'u, inscriptions on related archaeological material, particularly bronze vessels, have been quite short.²⁵ The 469-character inscription on the large bronze ting fitted with iron legs from tomb 1 is the longest Warring States bronze inscription extant.

The austere forms and spare decoration that characterize

most of the bronze vessels from the P'ing-shan tombs are strikingly different from the complexity of the bronzes found at Sui Hsien, dating more than one hundred years earlier. The restless movement of the reticulated decoration on the Sui Hsien bronzes represents a final state in the development of cast bronze decoration that was influenced by aesthetic traditions related to the state of Ch'u. Technically, it would have been difficult for metal craftsmen to proceed much further in opening up the surfaces of the bronzes.

Metal inlay techniques provided an alternate method of enriching the bronze vessels. There is some debate regarding the origin of the metal inlay techniques that became so important in the Warring States period.²⁶ Regardless of whether the techniques were developed by Chinese artisans or borrowed from nomadic traditions, there is little question that archaeologically attested material permits scholars to propose a stylistic progression. Jenny F. So's analysis has divided the development of Chinese inlay styles chronologically into three phases. In the first phase, the early copper inlay designs of animal motifs that appeared in the sixth century B.C. were replaced by more varied kinds of metals and more characteristically Chinese motifs. During the second phase, beginning circa 450 B.C., more abstract inlay designs were embellished with semiprecious stones. The last phase, which began circa 350 B.C. and continued until the early years of the Western Han period, saw inlay designs remaining abstract but transformed into a delicacy that is jewellike. Influenced by lacquer and textile traditions in the south, some inlay designs were more free flowing and reveal bird and animal forms.²⁷

Chinese archaeological reports of the tombs at P'ing-shan stress the similarities of their shape, construction, and disposition with the Wei State tombs at Ku-wei-ts'un in Hui Hsien, Honan Province. Li Hsüeh-ch'in recognizes the unusual nature of some of the objects found in the P'ing-shan tombs but finds the cultural links with the state of Wei to be most significant.²⁸

By contrasting the bronzes found at P'ing-shan and Sui Hsien, it is possible to highlight developments in the inlay bronze tradition during a crucial phase of the Warring States period. Perhaps the best concise summary of developments during the whole period is provided by Jenny F. So:

In its sources and permutations, the history of the Inlay Style reflects something of the dynamic vigor and sophistication of the Warring States period as a whole. Its beginnings were inspired by foreign contacts. Its adaptation to the Chinese sphere was subject to a variety of molding forces—a brief

Bronze vessels from the state of Chung-shan, P'ing-shan, Hopei Province (after *WW*, no. 1 [1979]: 25).

flirtation with pictorial designs, a strong and enduring metropolitan tradition of pure ornament, and the seductive elegance of the rising lacquer and textile industries in the south. The underlying unity shared by even the most distinctive manifestations of the style is epitomized by the richly colored and patterned surfaces, in which the worldliness of the period finds an apt expression.²⁹

During the millennium and a half that preceded the Warring States period, bronze vessels were made for use in elaborate ritual offerings and to serve as tangible symbols of the mandate to rule. When iron was used to cast implements in the sixth century B.C., the dominance of bronze was challenged for the first time. Some scholars perceive the introduction of iron as marking the end of China's bronze age.³⁰ The earliest examples of cast iron, however, are principally utilitarian objects, such as agricultural utensils, and those few ritual vessels cast partially or entirely of iron appear to have been the exception rather than the rule.³¹ Even those garment hooks fashioned of iron are relatively few, suggesting that the material was used as a novelty rather than for any other reason. Certainly, bronze appears to have been the material preferred by Warring States metal artisans for most of the period.

It was the function rather than the material of the ritual vessels that changed so dramatically during the Warring States period. The religious and political emphasis that was an integral function of ritual vessels during the Shang and early Chou periods was replaced by frankly secular considerations. The extraordinary craftsmanship and handsome inlay designs of Warring States bronzes suggest the influence of China's contemporary lacquer tradition. Regardless of the influences from any other media that can be detected on Warring States bronzes, the vessels present the final ebullient statement of a metal tradition that began at least as early as Shang times and, as further archaeological material becomes available, perhaps during the preceding Hsia dynasty.

Notes

1. Salles, "Les bronzes de Li-yü," pp. 146–58.
2. A Chinese account of the find is provided by Shang Ch'eng-tso in his preface to *Hun-yüan i-ch'i t'u*.
3. The sole exception is a sword, now in the collection of the Musée Guimet, Paris, which has an inscription, inlaid with gold. Another sword in the Freer Gallery (cat. no. 28) is believed to have come from the Li-yü find. Both swords are reproduced in Umehara, *Sengoku*, pl. 25.

4. H. d'Ardenne de Tizac, *L'art chinois classique* (Paris, 1926), pp. 272–76, pls. 50–62.
5. Osvald Sirén, *A History of Early Chinese Art*, vol. 1, *The Prehistoric and Pre-Han Periods* (London, 1929), p. 58.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
7. Hsü Chung-shu, *Piao-shih pien-chung t'u-shih* (Peking and Shanghai, 1932); Karlgren, "On the Date of the Piao Bells," pp. 137–49; *idem*, "Notes on a Kin-ts'un Album," pp. 65–82; Umehara, *Senoku seishō* (Kyoto, 1961), pp. 7–11; and White, *Tombs*, pp. 40–46.
8. "The Exhibition of Early Chinese Bronzes: Arranged on the Occasion of the 13th International Congress on the History of Art, Stockholm, September 1933," *BMFEA*, no. 6 (1934): 81–136.
9. *KK*, no. 5 (1959): 222–28, no. 2 (1962): 55–62, no. 5 (1963): 229–45; *WW*, nos. 8/9 (1960): 11–14, no. 10 (1961): 31–35.
10. Grenville L. Winthrop, p. 39.
11. Loehr, *Bronzes*, pp. 144–46, no. 64.
12. For specific examples of this relationship and a discussion of known pieces, see cat. nos. 9, 135–38.
13. *WW*, no. 7 (1979): 1–48; *Sui Hsien*; Thorpe, "The Sui Xian Tomb," pp. 67–92.
14. For discussions of the relationship between Tseng and Ch'u, see *WW*, no. 1 (1980): 54–58; *KK*, no. 5 (1980): 436–43.
15. Hua Chüeh-ming and Kuo Te-wei, "Tseng hou-i mu ch'ing-t'ung ch'i ch'un ti chu-kan chi-shu ho shih-la fa," p. 46.
16. *WW*, no. 7 (1979): 32–39. For a discussion of the importance of bronze bells in south China, see Virginia Kane, "The Independent Bronze Industries in the South of China Contemporary with the Shang and Western Chou Dynasties," *AAA* 38 (1974–75): 85–93.
17. *WW*, no. 7 (1979): pls. 1, 3:2, 4:2; *Sui Hsien*, pls. 8–10.
18. *WW*, no. 7 (1979): pl. 1, fig. 19; *Sui Hsien*, pls. 9–11.

19. Detailed information and photographs of those bronze figures remain extremely limited (see *China Reconstructs* 30 [May 1981]: 68–69; Hsieh Nung and Huang Ching, "Ch'in Shih-huang-ling ch'u-t'u hsing t'ung-ch'e t'ung-ma t'ung-jen," *Renwen zazhi*, no. 1 [1981]: 113 and back cover).

20. *WW*, no. 7 (1979): figs. 5, 33–38, pls. 6:1, 7:2–3. A comparable degree of complexity is provided by a Chinese gold dagger handle in the British Museum (Jenyns and Watson, *Chinese Art*, vol. 2, chap. 1, pl. 9).

In a discussion of the first use in China of the lost-wax process of bronze casting, Hua Chüeh-ming and Kuo Te-wei mention the

four-ram *fang-tsun* dating from the Shang dynasty (ca. 1300–ca. 1030 B.C.), which had been proposed as an early example of the technique (*WW*, no. 7 [1979]: 48). Hua and Kuo conclude that the *fang-tsun* (which is reproduced in *Great Bronze*, pl. 20) actually was cast using piece molds and that prior to the excavation of bronzes from the Sui Hsien tomb, the earliest examples of lost-wax casting in China were the bronze objects from the Western Han site of Shih-chai-shan, Yunnan Province. (For the bronzes from Shih-chai-shan, see Yunnan po-wu-kuan, *Yün-nan Chün-ting Shih-chai-shan ku-nu chün fa-chüeh pao-kao*, 2 vols. [Peking, 1959]; *WW*, no. 8 [1972]: 7–16; Michèle Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, *La civilisation du royaume de Dian à l'époque Han, d'après le matériel exhumé à Shizhai shan (Yunnan)* [Paris, 1974]; *KKHP*, no. 2 [1975]: 97–156).

More recently, a Ch'u tomb at Hsi-ch'uan, Honan Province, dated to the Spring and Autumn period, has yielded several bronze vessels with decoration that suggests to the authors of the archaeological report that they might have been cast by the lost-wax method (see *WW*, no. 10 [1980]: 21–26, especially p. 23, pls. 1–2). Additional details concerning the tomb and its contents appear in *KK*, no. 2 (1981): 119–27, pls. 6–8, 11.

Information currently available suggests that the lost-wax process was first used in south China and, in all probability, in areas politically controlled or culturally dominated by the state of Ch'u. The flamboyant designs that are found on so many of the bronzes associated with Ch'u make it understandable that the metal artisans would have searched for a technique that would enable them to surpass the limits of the piece-mold process in developing motifs.

21. A number of articles concerning various aspects of the Chung-shan tombs can be found in the following journals: *WW*, nos. 1, 5 (1979); *KKHP*, no. 2 (1979), no. 1 (1980); *Ku-kung po-wu-yüan yüan-k'au*, nos. 1–2 (1979). Excellent photographs of objects from the site, as well as a Japanese summary of the Chinese articles, are provided in the catalogue *Treasures from the Tombs of Zhong Shan Guo Kings: An Exhibition from the People's Republic of China*.

22. Liu Hsiang expressed very tersely the crucial difference between the larger and smaller states in his preface to the *Chan-kuo ts'e*, edited by James Crump. Chung-shan was one of five states having one thousand chariots; the seven larger states each had ten thousand chariots.

23. The traditional viewpoint regarding the early history of the Chung-shan state is given by Li Hsüeh-ch'in and Li Ling in "P'ing-shan san-ch'i yü Chung-shan-kuo shih ti ju-kan wen-t'i," pp. 163–68. The relationship between the nomadic and Chung-shan peoples is questioned by Huang Sheng-chang in "Kuan-yü Chan-kuo Chung-shan-kuo mu-tsang i-wu jo-kan wen-t'i pien-cheng," pp. 43–45. Essentially this same point of view is presented in the Summary of Contents in *Great Bronze*, p. 376.

24. According to the *Ch'iu-ch'iu*, in the twelfth year of the reign of Duke Chao (530 B.C.), the Chin general Hsün Wu invaded the

Hsien-yü. For the entry and a discussion of it, see Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 5:638, 641.

25. Large numbers of dated inscriptions do occur on metal weapons dating from the middle and late years of the Warring States period, but since most of those pieces are undecorated, they provide little assistance in evolving a precise stylistic sequence for bronze vessels (see Shih Pen-hsing, "Hsin-cheng 'Cheng Han ku-ch'eng' fa-hsien i-p'i Chan-kuo t'ung-ping-ch'i," *WW*, no. 10 [1972]: 32–40; Huang Sheng-chang, "Shih-lun San Chin ping-ch'i ti kuo-pieh ho nien-tai chi ch'i-hsiang-kuan wen-t'i," *KKHP*, no. 1 [1974]: 13–44; and Hayashi, *Chügoku*, pp. 565–608).

26. Jenny F. So in *Great Bronze*, p. 306, states that "the idea of inlaying with metal was foreign to China, and was acquired from the West through the nomadic cultures of the Central Asian steppes." A rebuttal by the Committee for the Preparation of Exhibitions of Archaeological Relics, People's Republic of China, which cites the use of inlay in China as early as the Shang dynasty, appears on p. 376 of *Great Bronze*.

27. So, *ibid.*, pp. 306–8.

28. Li Hsüeh-ch'in, *WW*, no. 1 (1979): 37–41; Liu Lai-ch'eng in *Treasures*, p. 16. For the tombs at Ku-wei-ts'un, see *Hui Hsien*.

29. So, *ibid.*, p. 308.

30. Kwang-chih Chang in *Great Bronze*, p. 40, suggests that the bronze age in China came to an end circa 500 B.C. In the same catalogue, Jenny F. So, p. 326, speaks of the bronze age as ending during the Western Han period.

31. A review of relevant information about iron in early China is provided by Li Chung in *KKHP*, no. 2 (1975): 1–22. See also Lei Tsang-yün, "Chan-kuo t'ieh-nung-chü ti k'ao-ku fa-hsien chi ch'i i-i," *KK*, no. 3 (1980): 259–65. Aside from the large numbers of iron agricultural implements that have been found in recent years, several ritual vessels made wholly or partially of iron have been unearthed in sites dating from the Warring States, Ch'in, and Han periods:

A single iron ting measuring only 6.9 centimeters high was unearthed from tomb 65 at Yang chia-shan, near Ch'ang-sha, Hunan Province, in 1976. Another iron ting measuring 21 centimeters high was found in tomb 15. The handles of the ting from tomb 15 are broken, and the surface of the vessel is heavily corroded. According to the archaeological report, both ting date from the late Spring and Autumn period to the early Warring States period (*WW*, no. 10 [1978]: 44, 46, figs. 5, 7:3, 7:5).

A pair of iron ting from tomb 1, at Chih-tzu-ling, near Ch'ang-sha, Hunan Province, was found in 1974. Dated to the Warring States period, the ting measure 27 centimeters high (*KK*, no. 1 [1977]: 63, fig. 3).

A rectangular iron brazier, measuring 17.8 centimeters high, was found in Hopei Province (*Treasures*, no. 21).

A ting made with a bronze body and, according to a brief description, legs wrapped in iron "skin," was found in Kwangsi Province. The vessel measures 13 centimeters high (*Kuang-hsi ch'u-t'u wen-wu*, p. 7, pl. 51).

An impressive ting with bronze body and iron legs was unearthed from tomb 1 at P'ing-shan Hsien, Hopei Province, in 1977, together with a large number of elegantly inlaid artifacts from the state of Chung-shan. The vessel measures 51.5 centimeters high; the inscription of 469 characters cut into the surface is the longest Warring States bronze inscription now known. Tomb 1 at P'ing-shan has been dated circa 310 B.C. (*WW*, no. 1 [1979]: pl. 6:3. For a colorplate of the ting, see *Ho-pei*, pl. 176).

A large ting, measuring 50 centimeters high, was found in tomb 172 at Yang-tzu-shan, Szechwan Province. Fragments of clay remain inside the rim and handles of the ting. Bits of meat and bone within the vessel itself, together with traces of soot on the exterior,

indicate that the ting was used to cook or heat food. One of the legs was repaired, an iron replacement having been cast over the bronze original (*KKHP*, no. 4 [1956]: 8, figs. 10–11). In a reexamination of the periodization of Warring States and Ch'in funerary artifacts unearthed in Szechwan Province, Sung Shih-ming proposes a Ch'in date for tomb 172 (*Chung-kuo k'ao-ku hsüeh-hui ti-tzu nien-hui lun-wen chi* [Peking, 1979], p. 271).

A ting with a bronze body and iron legs was found in the important Ch'in dynasty tomb 11 at Shui-hu-tui, Yün-meng Hsien, Hupei Province, in 1975. The ting was found without its lid. Tomb 11 also yielded more than 1,100 bamboo slips with inscriptions relating to events in the state of Ch'in during the years 306–217 B.C. (*WW*, no. 9 [1976]: 55, fig. 8).

A number of iron vessels, including one *fu* and six ting, were found in Han dynasty tombs at Pai-sha, Yü Hsien, Honan Province, in the early 1950s (*KKHP*, no. 1 [1959]: pl. 9:4–5).

- 1 Bronze vessel, type *hu*
Late Spring and Autumn–early Warring States periods, 5th century B.C.
Height 44.8 cm (17 $\frac{3}{8}$ in); width 26.6 cm (10 $\frac{1}{2}$ in)
57.22

The tall, round vessel has a graceful curving silhouette. Rising from a high foot, the swelling body curves outward, turns inward below the neck, and then flares outward again at the lip. Four main decorative registers consist of interlocking dragon forms executed in broad bands covered with volutes and spirals in intaglio. These registers are separated by five braided rope bands modeled in relief. In the lowest register, four t'ao-t'ieh, or monster masks, are spaced beneath the handles and on the two opposite faces of the vessel. Similar intaglio interlocking dragon forms are arranged in ogival panels extending above the topmost rope pattern and hanging below the lower one; related decoration surrounds the raised foot. Two handles in the shape of stylized tigers are affixed at the sides, their heads turn-

ing backward and their tongues protruding. These animals are richly decorated in intaglio and with a dark patina set off by copper inserted in the fossae. The use of copper as a contrasting inlay occurs frequently during the late years of the Spring and Autumn period as well as in the succeeding Warring States period, and, however modest is its appearance on the Freer *hu*, this type of contrasting inlay was to have increasingly greater importance.¹

Comparison of the Freer *hu* with the well-known pair of Cull bronzes, now in the British Museum, helps to establish its general date.² The Cull *hu*, said to have come from Chi Hsien, Honan Province, have identical inscriptions encircling their movable lids. Although some questions remain regarding the precise translation of those inscriptions, there is general agreement about reference to a conference held at Huang-ch'ih in 482 B.C. That reference enables scholars to assign the Cull *hu* to the period shortly after 482 B.C. and to relate them tentatively to the state of Chin.³

The Freer *hu* lacks the petal-shaped lid that complements the silhouettes of the two Cull vessels. Yet, it seems reasonable to suggest that originally such a lid did exist. Judging from the elaborate lids found on those related extant vessels, both the Cull and Freer *hu* presumably also had a three-dimensional bird ornament as part of their lids.⁴

Similar in size, proportion, and silhouette to the Freer *hu* is the example—one of a pair—found at Li-yü, Shansi Province, in 1923, and now in the collection of the Shanghai Museum.⁵ While the Shanghai *hu* is closely related to the Freer piece in size and in shape, the decoration of the former piece, with its plastically modeled birds and animals and the increased scale of the dragon bands, represents a degree of flamboyance that in comparison lends the Freer vessel an austere simplicity.

The Cull *hu* provide one date for the Freer vessel. Another date is given by a pair of *chien* in the collections of the Freer Gallery and Minneapolis Art Institute. Those *chien*, on

the basis of their brief inscriptions, can be placed before 453 B.C.⁶

By considering all related factors, it is possible to assign the Freer *hu* to the period 480–450 B.C., or during the final years of the Spring and Autumn period and the initial phase of the Warring States period, and to associate it with the state of Chin.

1. For a discussion of the Freer *hu*, see Pope et al., *The Freer Chinese Bronzes*, 1:496–501, pl. 91; George W. Weber, Jr., *The Ornaments of Late Chou Bronzes*, pp. 361–64, pl. 76.

2. Yetts, *The Cull Chinese Bronzes*, pp. 45–75, pls. 16–17; Rawson, "A Pair of Chinese Bronze Ritual Vessels," pp. 124–27.

3. Yetts, *The Cull Chinese Bronzes*, p. 73; Loehr, Review of *The Cull Chinese Bronzes*, by W. P. Yetts, pp. 420–26.

4. *SPCLLK*, pls. 14–15.

5. *Shang-hai*, 1: pl. 73, 2:69; Ma Ch'eng-yüan, "Niao-shou lung-wen hu," *WW*, no. 4 (1960): 70.

6. *Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 56–57.

- 2 Bronze vessel, type *chien*
Late Spring and Autumn-early Warring States periods, 5th century B.C.
Height 22.8 cm (9 in); diameter 51.7 cm (20³/₈ in)
39.5

This large *chien*, or basin, rises from a ring foot, swelling outward and then inward to form a wide concave band before meeting the flat, everted lip. Four handles topped by t'ao-t'ieh, or monster masks, are evenly spaced around the quadrants of the ritual vessel; loose flattened rings with intaglio decoration depend from two of the handles. The surface of the basin is separated into three principal registers, each decorated with highly stylized interlocking dragon forms depicted in narrow bands covered with fine spirals and triangles in intaglio. At regular intervals in the widest central register appear t'ao-t'ieh, which are alternately upright and inverted. Plaited rope bands in relief separate the decorative registers; a third such band surrounds the foot. Around the outer edge of the lip is a band of cowries.¹

The Freer *chien* forms an identical pair with an example in the Minneapolis Art Institute.² According to Jung Keng, the Freer and Minneapolis *chien* were unearthed in 1938 in Hui Hsien, Honan Province.³ That provenance is supported by archaeological finds in a number of tombs located at Fen-shui-ling, north of Ch'ang-chih, Shansi Province, evidently the burial place of grandees of the state of Chin.⁴ Two bronze *chien* with decor virtually identical to that on the Freer and Minneapolis *chien* were unearthed in 1973 at Hui Hsien, Honan Province.⁵ The Hui Hsien *chien* have only two handles; the Freer and Minneapolis pieces have four.

Engraved inside the Freer and Minneapolis *chien* are identical six-character inscriptions in elegant and elongated script, "The esteemed *chien* of the noble of Chih."⁶ The surname

Bronze *chieh* from Fen-shui-ling, Ch'ang-chih, Shansi Province (after *KK*, no. 3 [1964]: 122).

Rubbing of inscription (actual size), cat. no. 2

Chih was that of one of the most powerful families in the state of Chin. The authority and position of the Chih family came to an end when Chih Po, the head of the clan, was assassinated in 453 B.C.⁷ The nobleman mentioned in the inscriptions found on bronze vessels of such unusual size and quality was certainly a member of the influential Chih family, and so 453 B.C. provides a terminus ante quem for dating the Freer and Minneapolis *chieh*.

1. *Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 56–57; Pope et al., *The Freer Chinese Bronzes*, 1:478–83, pl. 88.

2. *Pillsbury Bronzes*, pp. 138–39; George W. Weber, Jr., *The Ornaments of Late Chou Bronzes*, pp. 83–91, pls. 8–9; Barbara W. Keyser, “Decor Replication in

Two Late Chou Bronze *Chieh*,” *Ars Orientalis* 11 (1979): 127–62.

3. Jung Keng, *Shang Chou i-ch'i t'ung-k'ao*, 1:470.

4. “Shan-hsi Ch'ang-chih Fen-shui-ling Chan-kuo mu ti-erh tz'u fa-ch'ueh,” *KK*, no. 3 (1964): 111–37, figs. 11:6, 12:6–7. The pair of *chieh* was found in tomb 25.

5. *WW*, no. 5 (1975): 91–92. No dimensions of the *chieh* found at Hui Hsien were given in the brief report; it is, therefore, difficult to comment about the relative sizes as compared with the Freer *chieh*.

6. In addition to the reproductions of the inscriptions provided in the volumes cited in note 1, there is an informative comparison in Keyser, “Decor Replication in Two Late Chou Bronze *Chieh*,” p. 131, figs. 4–5.

7. *Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 56–57.

Inscription

Bronze finial from Fen-shui-ling, Ch'ang-chih, Shansi Province (after *Wu-sheng*, pl. 63:2).

- 3 Bronze vessel, type *tsum*
Late Spring and Autumn—early Warring States periods, 5th century B.C.
Height 26.5 cm (10½ in)
Gift of Eugene and Agnes E. Meyer 61.30

Characteristic of Li-yü-style bronzes are a precise casting technique and striking juxtaposition of abstract and naturalistic details. Both features are clearly apparent in this bronze bird-shaped *tsum*, which Umehara Sueji discusses with other Li-yü bronzes in his study of Warring States vessels.¹ If Umehara is correct, the Freer *tsum* was made in Shansi Province.

In its shape and specific features, the bird is realistically rendered. The beak, eyes, and feet are faithfully modeled. Neatly articulated feathers cover the wings and tail. By contrast, most of the remaining surfaces are or-

namented with interlaced bands and overlapping curls. The bird's eyes are inlaid with a gold ring encircling a gold pupil. On the crest is a four-character inscription in gold "bird script," which reads, *tzu chih kung niao* ("the gentleman's esteemed bird"). A pin, now broken, was located beneath the bird's tail and, together with the two legs, served as a tripartite support.

The present dark, shiny surface of the bronze apparently is the result of the application of wax or varnish after the *tsum* was unearthed. Chinese collectors frequently treated the surfaces of bronze vessels in this way, evidently to prevent any further deterioration.

For comparative examples, the head of a bronze *tsum* in the National Palace Museum, Taiwan, has the same movable beak and cowrie-shell

collar.² A bronze bird-shaped *tsum* with a lid on its back is more closely related to the Freer piece.³ A small bronze finial unearthed from tomb 14 at Fen-shui-ling, Shansi Province, with other objects that would support a fifth century B.C. date, is a miniature of the Freer *tsum*.⁴

Although Li-yü-style bronzes are not precisely datable, some suggestion of a relative chronology can be made on the basis of comparative stylistic development. Max Loehr has proposed a reasonable sequence.⁵ The earliest examples of the Li-yü style, according to Loehr probably datable to the late sixth century B.C., consist of simple interlocked bands with filling ornament but without overlapping of any individual parts. Apparently this overlapping occurs during the next phase of the style. In the last phase, the curls and feathers become

quite plastic in appearance, with clear separation of levels and overlapping of forms. The ornamentation on the Freer *tsun* belongs to Loehr's second phase, suggesting that a fifth century B.C. date is suitable.

Writing in 1973, William Watson questioned the late Eastern Chou date of the Freer *tsun* and proposed that it should be regarded as a Sung dynasty archaistic piece.⁶ The results of recent thermoluminescence tests, however, support the traditional late Eastern Chou date for the *tsun*.

1. Umehara, *Sengoku*, pls. LVIII–LX. For further discussion of the Freer *tsun*, see Pope et al., *The Freer Chinese Bronzes*, 1: 568–73, pl. 106; George W. Weber, Jr., *The Ornaments of Late Chou Bronzes*, pp. 349–55, pl. 74.

2. *Ku-kung*, 2:107, top.

3. Umehara, *Sengoku*, pl. LXI. The bronze *tsun* is now in the collection of the Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Mass.

4. "Shan-hsi Ch'ang-chih-shih Fen-shui-ling ku-mu ti ch'ing-li," *KKHP*, no. 1 (1957): pl. 5:7; *Wu-sheng*, pl. 63:2.

5. Loehr, *Bronzes*, no. 64.

6. William Watson, "On Some Categories of Archaism in Chinese Bronze," pp. 1–13.

4 Bronze vessel, type *tui*
Late Spring and Autumn–early Warring States periods, 5th century B.C.
Height 15.3 cm (6 $\frac{1}{16}$ in); width 16.4 cm (6 $\frac{3}{16}$ in)
32.13

of the bronze casting—appearing almost as though the designs were engraved—and combination of abstract and naturalistic decoration are characteristic of bronzes associated with the well-known site.

Pottery mold from Hou-ma, Shansi Province (after *WW*, nos. 8/9 [1960], 165).

The ellipsoidal food vessel stands on a small undecorated flaring foot. Only a narrow horizontal concave register at the upper edge of the rim of the bowl interrupts the full swelling contours. Two circular handles appear on opposite sides of the bowl. The low rounded lid is unadorned except for three small ducks that serve as legs when the cover is inverted¹ and four miniature masks that overhang the lower edge of the lid to keep it in position. Enlivening the seated ducks and miniature masks is a meticulous combination of textural motifs. That naturalism contrasts with the stylized interlaced bands that appear on the bowl and circular handles.²

The Freer *tui* is said to have been unearthed in 1923 at Li-yü in northern Shansi Province.³ The precision

1. Among the thousands of pottery molds unearthed at Hou-ma in Shansi Province is one depicting a duck that is very similar to those that appear on the Freer *tui* (*WW*, nos. 8/9 [1960]: 7, no. 5).

2. The Freer *tui* has been discussed in the following publications: Umehara, *Sen-goku*, pl. VII; Mizuno, *BEJ*, pl. 132; *Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 58–59, pl. 31; Pope et al., *The Freer Chinese Bronzes*, 1:528–31, pl. 97; George W. Weber, Jr., *The Ornaments of Late Chou Bronzes*, pp. 398–99; William Watson, *Ancient Chinese Bronzes*, pl. 65a.

3. Georges Salles mentions a *brûle-parfum* as being in the Freer Gallery, perhaps referring to this *tui*, since it was acquired by the Gallery directly from Mme Wannieck, widow of L. Wannieck, who purchased a number of bronzes in Li-yü (Salles, “Les bronzes de Li-yü,” p. 158).

- 5 Bronze vessel, type *fang-hu*
Early Warring States period, 5th
century B.C.
Height 37.2 cm (14 $\frac{5}{8}$ in); width 22.5
cm (8 $\frac{7}{8}$ in)
56.15

The elegant shape contrasts markedly with the bold pictorial decoration of this square ritual vessel. That contrast reflects the unusual degree of artistic experimentation characteristic of the Warring States period. The graceful silhouette of the *fang-hu* rises from a high, slightly tapering foot, curves outward at the middle, and narrows at the neck. A wide projecting lip echoes the angle of the foot.

Each of the four sides of the vessel is separated by six bands of decoration arranged to coincide with the base, body, and neck. It is usual for bronze *hu* with pictorial decoration to have the most abstract motifs on the foot, as is the case with the Freer example, where the decorative embellishment serves also as a stabilizing element. On the Freer *fang-hu*, the

pairs of double-banded bird-headed volutes and triangles on the foot are a flamboyant restatement of an earlier motif.¹

The confronting birds and serpents that decorate the neck of the Freer *fang-hu* can be seen on a *hu* unearthed from tomb 56 at Liu-li-ko, Honan Province.² Kuo Pao-chün, author of the monograph on those finds, assigns the pictorial *hu* from tomb 56 to the fourth period of his chronological sequence and proposes a date extending from the late fourth through the early third centuries B.C. On stylistic grounds, however, a date closer to the early fifth century B.C. would be justifiable, as has been proposed by Kao Ming.³

Separating the birds on the Freer and Liu-li-ko *hu* are pairs of vertical isosceles triangles. The same triangular motifs decorate the narrow vertical zones along the four edges of the Freer *fang-hu*. As a formal frame for robust pictorial motifs, the triangles also appear on some of the inlaid bronze vessels from the tomb of Mar-

quis Chao (r. 518–491 B.C.) of the state of Ts'ai.⁴ The tomb of the marquis of Ts'ai has provided the earliest datable examples of inlaid bronzes so far known.

Simple spirals are cast in intaglio on the narrow horizontal zones between the wider bands of decoration on the Freer *fang-hu*. These spirals appeared on Chinese bronze vessels as early as the Shang dynasty. On two sides of the vessel are animal masks in relief from which depend loose ring handles.

Pictorial scenes are depicted in the remaining four registers, with silhouette forms shown in relief, some being repeated several times. In the top register, an archer in a chariot drawn by four horses is accompanied by a charioteer and two hunters on foot. Birds and animals flee before the hunters. Below, a row of six kneeling archers using arrows with weighted cords are shooting at birds. Shown twice in the third register are two figures holding short swords and fighting bulls. In each case, the stance

of the kneeling bull and the spearlike weapon projecting from its shoulder suggest that the beast has just been overcome. Although none of the registers is marked by a concern for spatial depth, there is some spatial ambiguity in this portion of the decoration because of the way the artist has added birds beneath the bull combat. Finally, in the bottom register, a single sword-wielding figure appears to have quelled a bull. The same grouping is repeated twice. In each scene, the repeated use of undulating lines and diagonal forms emphasizes the sense of frenetic action.

Three round bronze *hu* are decorated with virtually identical pictorial designs.⁵ The meaning of those designs has been studied by a number of scholars; Charles Weber reviews the different interpretations in his book *Chinese Pictorial Bronzes of the Late Chou Period*.⁶

1. For a discussion of the Freer *fang-lu*, see Pope et al., *The Freer Chinese Bronzes*, 1:502–7, pl. 92.

2. *SPCLLK*, pl. 91.

3. Kao Ming, "Lüeh-lun Chi Hsien Shan-piao-chen i-hao-mu ti nien-hao," *KK*, no. 4 (1962): 211–15.

4. *Shou Hsien*, pls. 41, 48, 49:1, 52:2. See also Soper, "The Tomb of the Marquis of Ts'ai," pp. 153–57, and Ch'en Meng-chia, "Shou Hsien Ts'ai-hou mu t'ung-ch'i," *KKHP*, no. 2 (1956): 95–123.

5. *Pillsbury Bronzes*, no. 53; William Watson, *Ancient Chinese Bronzes*, pl. 70a; an unpublished vessel in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond.

6. Charles D. Weber, *Chinese Pictorial Bronzes of the Late Chou Period*, pp. 137–49.

6 Bronze vessel, type *chien*

Early Warring States period, 5th century B.C.

Height 28.0 cm (11 in); diameter across the handles 61.4 cm (24 $\frac{3}{16}$ in) 15.107

This large *chien*, or basin, rises from a low foot; the full swelling shape of the body curves inward to meet a broad, sharply everted lip. A wide concave horizontal band beneath the lip of the basin is echoed by two narrow horizontal bands placed lower on the ceremonial vessel. Each of these narrower bands is decorated with diagonal and curl motifs cast in intaglio. The same design appears on the vertical edge of the everted lip. The narrow band on the foot of the basin is decorated with a braid pattern. Four large handles with three-dimensional monster masks support pendant rings. Although the handles are contemporaneous in style with the vessel, some technical aspects of the way they are joined to the body of the *chien* suggest that they might not

Detail of interior

be original. One of the handles is less finely cast and probably is a later replacement.¹ An abstract linear design on the surfaces of the four pendant rings is cast in intaglio. The elaborate curvilinear forms of the monster masks, characterized by raised curls and relief motifs, are similar to those found on bronze *chien* unearthed at Shan-piao-chen and at Liu-li-ko, Honan Province,² and in tomb 25 at Fen-shui-ling, Ch'ang-chih, Shansi Province.³

The widest horizontal register on the exterior of the basin is filled with stylized human figures, chariots, fish, birds, and animals. Both two- and four-horse chariots are represented. Some human figures carry swords and shields; others are archers and use a particular type of weighted arrow. All are presented in silhouette, with a few specific details—such as eyes, drapery folds, and harnesses—simply indicated. The basic compositional unit is repeated seven times around the entire vessel.

In decorating the two remaining

registers on the outside of the basin, the artisan divided the elements of the widest register and selected elements from the upper portion for the top-most register and elements from the lower portion for the lowermost register. Once again, the specific compositional units are repeated several times around the outer surfaces of the vessel. The meaning of these scenes has been interpreted by a number of scholars. Charles Weber provides a convenient summary of the different opinions.⁴

The relief areas on some vessels with pictorial decoration are filled with a contrasting metal—frequently copper or silver—but there is some uncertainty as to whether the sunken portions on the Freer *chien* might originally have been inlaid. No traces of inlay remain. The recessed areas are now filled with cerussite, a whitish corrosion product of lead.

On the inner surface of the Freer basin are bands of ducks, fish, and turtles modeled in high relief, with special attention to patterns describing

different textures. The top register depicts fourteen ducks, alternately walking and swimming. In the second register, two different sizes of fish, seen in profile and, curiously, presented upside down, alternate with ducks. On the bottom register are turtles with their heads alternately pointed upward and downward.

A *p'an* acquired by L. Wannieck at the site of Li-yü in 1923 and now in the Musée Guimet is decorated with a similar assemblage of ducks, fish, and turtles on the interior surface.⁵ Virtually identical relief ducks and fish appear on the *chien* found at Liu-li-ko.⁶ Perhaps the earliest instance of fish of this type cast on the interior of a bronze vessel is provided by a *p'an* in the Shanghai Museum, which is assigned to the early Spring and Autumn period.⁷

The tradition of decorating the interior surfaces of bronze vessels with fish and other creatures can be traced as far back as the Shang dynasty.⁸ Shang assemblages are varied; fish are sometimes grouped together with

Bronze *chien* from tomb 1, Shan-piao-chen, Honan Province (after *SPCLLK*, pl. 19:2).

dragons and birds. During the late Eastern Chou the creatures cast on *p'an* and *chien* have a natural association with water and are depicted as though they actually were swimming. The departure from the hieratic assemblages of the Shang period in favor of a more pronounced realism in the late Eastern Chou reflects a greater emphasis on the more secular functions of the vessels.

When Charles Lang Freer acquired this *chien* in 1915, it was assigned to the Han dynasty, as were most comparable bronze vessels at that time. Although precise dating of vessels with pictorial representations continues to pose problems, recent archaeological finds make it possible to amend earlier attributions.

The details of fish, ducks, and turtles on the Freer *chien* relate them to the representations on bronze vessels associated with the Li-yü style. Although those bronzes do vary in style and chronological sequence, the overall shape of the Freer *chien*, as well as the single band of braid decoration on

the foot rim, immediately recall the Chih chun-tzu *chien*, one of which is also in the Freer collection (cat. no. 2). The brief inscription inside the Chih chun-tzu *chien* indicates that they were cast prior to 453 B.C.

Some further range in dates for bronzes with pictorial decoration is provided by the examples of inlay vessels from the tomb of Marquis Chao of Ts'ai. In addition, some bronzes with pictorial decoration have been unearthed with vessels that can be dated stylistically to a general period. For instance, in the official report for the finds at Shan-piao-chen, which have already been mentioned, Kuo Pao-chün proposes a date of 300–240 B.C. for the contents of tomb 1.⁹ More recently, Kao Ming has demonstrated that the tomb should be dated to the early years of the Warring States period.¹⁰ The *hu* found at T'ang-shan, Hopei Province,¹¹ the former territory of the state of Yen, at Kao-wang-ssu, Feng-hsiang, Shensi Province,¹² and that found at Pai-hua-t'an, Ch'eng-tu, Szechwan Prov-

ince,¹³ all point to an early fifth century B.C. date. Considering the evidence, there seems no question but that the Freer *chien* with pictorial decoration should be assigned to the period between 500 and 450 B.C.

1. Pope et al., *The Freer Chinese Bronzes*, 1:484–89, pl. 89, especially p. 487; Umehara, *Sengoku*, pp. 45–46, 51, pl. LV; Charles D. Weber, *Chinese Pictorial Bronze Vessels of the Late Chou Period*, pp. 183–86, figs. 56–57, 69f.

2. *SPCLLK*, pls. 19, 101. The stylized animals on the top face of the everted rim of the Freer basin are of the same type as those on the vessel unearthed at Liu-li-ko (see *ibid.*, pls. 100:2, 101:2).

3. *KK*, no. 3 (1964): pl. 126, figs. 11:6, 12:6–7.

4. Weber, *Chinese Pictorial Bronze Vessels of the Late Chou Period*, pt. 4, pp. 183–206.

5. *Ibid.*, pt. 1, fig. 9.

6. *SPCLLK*, pl. 101:3.

7. *Shang-hai*, p. 64, pl. 66.

8. Pope et al., *The Freer Chinese Bronzes*, 1:34–39, pl. 3.

9. *SPCLLK*, pp. 46–47.

10. *KK*, no. 4 (1962): 211–15.

11. “Ho-pei-sheng T’ang-shan-shih Chia-ko-chuang fa-chüeh pao-kao,” *KKHP*, nos. 1/2 (1953): 57–116.

12. *WW*, no. 1 (1981): 16, pl. 6:3–4. According to the archaeological report, two *hu* of this type were found at Kao-wang-su, in former Ch’in territory. The figural decoration was inlaid with gold leaf.

13. *WW*, no. 3 (1976): 40–46, pl. 2. The material used to inlay the decoration on the *hu* from Pai-hua-t’an has not been identified, but the archaeological report (p. 43) describes it as being unusual. Another *hu* with similar decoration, but in fragmentary condition, is said to have been found at the same site prior to 1949.

Detail of mask and ring handle

Bronze *fang-hu* from Shan Hsien, Honan Province (after CPR, pl. 42).

- 7 Bronze vessel, type *fang-hu*
Warring States period, 4th century
B.C.
Height 52.6 cm (20¾ in); width 27.8
cm (10⅞ in)
Gift of Eugene and Agnes E. Meyer
61.32

The large square vessel with a cover in the shape of a truncated pyramid and strongly curved walls is supported on a high foot. T'ao-t'ieh es-cutcheons with pendant, movable rings appear below the neck on two sides. Only one ring handle has inlay decoration; the other is plain and, apparently, a later replacement. Elaborately decorated with a diagonally oriented geometric pattern, the body of the vessel is further embellished by an arrangement of fine spirals, hooks, and volutes inlaid with copper, silver, and malachite. Above the ring masks, at the point where the curve of the neck begins, a horizontal band separates the zone of the neck from that of the body. A wide band composed

of horizontal and vertical motifs decorates the neck. Similarly, the diagonal zigzag design on the foot is clearly separated from that of the body. The designs on all sections of the vessel, which are organized with strict emphasis on a central axis, are of extraordinary complexity and sophistication. Various elements of the designs derive ultimately from the dissolution of the fantastic creatures of earlier bronze decor, and suggestions of horns, eyes, and snouts are still recognizable. An irregularly shaped hole in one handle side of the vessel probably was made at the time the *fang-hu* was unearthed.¹

In 1957 a *fang-hu* that forms a pair with the Freer example was unearthed in Shan Hsien, Honan Province.² The only difference between the two vessels occurs in the distribution of the inlays: the Freer *fang-hu* has copper in the diagonal and rectangular grids, with malachite chips filling the grounds of the interstices; the Shan Hsien vessel has malachite chips fill-

ing the angular decor of the neck and diagonal grid on the body, with copper wire inlaid in the background.

Among related vessels, several are datable. The *fang-hu* in the University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, has an inscription incised on three sides of the base recording that the vessel was taken as war booty in "the King's fifth year," a reference to a regnal year corresponding either to 314 or 279 B.C. Allowing for a reasonable interim between the actual fabrication of the Philadelphia *fang-hu* and the time when it was seized, a circa 350–300 B.C. date can tentatively be assigned to it.³ The extremely complex design of the Philadelphia *fang-hu* as compared with the repetition of straight diagonals in the Freer vessel would support a date earlier in the fourth century B.C.

A pair of *fang-hu* was found at P'ing-shan, Hopei Province, in the tombs of Chung-shan rulers.⁴ Inscriptions on vessels in the Chung-shan tombs are dated to the last decades of

the fourth century B.C., which, when considered in relation to the style of the decoration on the two *fang-hu*, would support a mid-fourth century B.C. date for the Freer example.⁵

1. Pope et al., *The Freer Chinese Bronzes*, 1:512-17, pl. 94, 2:206, fig. 281.

2. *WW*, no. 11 (1958): 78, illustrated inside front cover; *An Exhibition of Archaeological Finds from the People's Republic of China* (Tokyo, 1977), no. 42; *Great Bronze*, pp. 281-82, 312-13.

Since the Freer *fang-hu* was formerly in the Meyer collection, where it had been since the early years of the twentieth century, the pair of *fang-hu* must have been separated and buried in different places in antiquity.

3. Umehara, *Sengoku*, pl. 95:1. Umehara also reproduces a vessel that appears to be the mate of the *fang-hu* in Philadelphia (ibid., pl. 95:2). The same *fang-hu* appears in White, *Tombs*, pl. CIX, which suggests a provenance at Chin-ts'un, near Loyang, Honan Province. According to Jenny F.

So, the fragments of the Chin-ts'un *fang-hu* are now in the study collection of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto (*Great Bronze*, p. 312).

Ch'en Meng-chia suggests that the fifth regnal year in the inscription on the Philadelphia *hu* referred to 314 B.C. (*In Shū sei-dōki hunrui zuroku*, 2 vols. [Tokyo, 1977], pp. 138-39); the alternate date of 279 B.C. is proposed by Kuo Mo-jo in *Liang Chou chin-wen-tz'u ta-hsi t'u-hu k'ao-shih*, pp. 220b-21a.

4. *Treasures*, no. 6; *China Pictorial*, no. 5 (1975): 40.

5. A circa 350 B.C. date for the Freer *fang-hu* was proposed by Jenny F. So in *Great Bronze*, p. 313. She also provides an informative chronological sequence for a series of related *fang-hu*.

8 Bronze vessel, type *tou*
Warring States period, 4th century
B.C.
Height 15.5 cm (6 $\frac{1}{8}$ in); width 18.7
cm (7 $\frac{3}{8}$ in)
39.41

The spherical bowl, on a flaring stem foot, has two tubular loop handles at opposite sides. The domed lid, which complements the bowl's curving form, is fitted with a low flaring knob that also serves as a foot when the lid is inverted. The gold inlay decoration of varying width and arranged in registers on the foot, bowl, handles, and cover is based almost entirely on a single stylized dragon motif. Although forms similar to the *tou* are known in pottery as early as the Shang dynasty, bronze *tou* appear relatively late in China's bronze age. The earliest examples can be dated circa fifth century B.C., and by the beginning of the Western Han period the form gradually disappears.¹

In 1965 a *tou* virtually identical in size and ornamentation with the Freer example was unearthed in tomb 126 at Fen-shui-ling, Ch'ang-chih, Shansi Province.² Fen-shui-ling is an important Warring States archaeological site. A group of Han State tombs was unearthed there in 1964, and other

finds occurred during succeeding years.³

Of particular interest in tracing the development of the designs on the Freer *tou* is an oval bronze *kuei* with gold inlay decoration that was found in tomb 12 at Fen-shui-ling.⁴ Similar designs, without gold inlay, appear on the handles of two bronze *ting* unearthed at Shan-piao-chen, Honan Province.⁵

A bronze *tou* of similar shape and with copper inlay pictorial decoration is said to have been found in 1923 at Li-yü, Shansi Province.⁶ The link between the Li-yü find and those bronzes from Fen-shui-ling is further strengthened by the shapes and decoration of the quadrupeds that were unearthed at the sites.⁷

In the excavation report published in *Wen-wu*, Pien Ch'eng-hsiu notes the large size of tomb 126 and the unusually high quality of objects found in it. Pien mentions that during the Warring States period the area of Ch'ang-chih was known as Shang-

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tang and that it was an important military, governmental, economic, and cultural center. He concludes that tomb 126 probably dates circa 262 B.C., when the area became the site of the capital of the state of Han. If Pien is correct, then the *tou* must have been an heirloom when it was placed in the tomb, since stylistically it should date from the fourth century B.C.⁸

The sumptuous inlay designs on the Freer *tou* and on the example unearthed at Ch'ang-chih retain only a slight relationship with the bold designs found on earlier Chou bronze vessels and nothing of the awesome ferocity so characteristic of Shang hybrid creatures. The outspokenly secular aspect of such late Chou bronze vessels is indicative of a break with earlier bronze decoration. The inlay patterns, with their admirable variety and inventiveness, were to be the final innovation in a tradition that had begun approximately one thousand years earlier.

Bronze *tou* from Fen-shui-ling, Ch'ang-chih, Shansi Province (after Hsin Chung-kuo ch'u-t'u wen-wu, pl. 72).

1. For discussion of the Freer *tou*, see *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 61, pl. 32; Pope et al., *The Freer Chinese Bronzes*, 1:538-41, pl. 99, 2:206, fig. 282.

2. *WW*, no. 4 (1972): 38-46, pl. 6:1.

3. *KK*, no. 3 (1964): 111. A summary of those finds is provided in *WW*, no. 4 (1972): 1-4.

4. *KKHP*, no. 1 (1957): 103-18, pl. 3:6.

5. *SPCLLK*, p. 11, pls. 8:1-3, right, 39:1-7.

6. *Shang-hai*, p. 71, pl. 67.

7. *WW*, no. 4 (1972): pl. 1.

8. *WW*, no. 4 (1972): 38-46.

- 9 Bronze vessel, type *tui*
Warring States period, 4th century
B.C.
Height 15.0 cm (5 $\frac{7}{8}$ in); width 22.2
cm (8 $\frac{3}{4}$ in)
38.7

The round bowl, supported by a simple foot ring, is covered with a lid that complements its curving contour. Flat on top, the lid is surmounted by four paired monsters that form upright rings, which serve as legs when the lid is inverted. Two animal mask escutcheons hold pendant, movable rings on the sides. The decoration on both the lid and vessel consists of horizontal bands of elaborately interlaced scroll forms inlaid in silver and turquoise. The main band presents symmetrically paired birds executed in double outlines and enlivened by curls and spirals. Although reduced to delicate outlines, the birds with their backward-turning heads and elaborate curling tails are reminis-

cent of the peacocklike birds found on Western Chou bronze vessels. The border designs on the lid, body, and foot of the vessel consist of diagonals crossed by S-shaped motifs that center on double circles. The silver decor is accentuated by cutout areas that bear remnants of inlay made from turquoise chips.¹

A bronze vessel inlaid with silver decoration was unearthed during late 1965 and early 1966 from tomb 2 at Wang-shan near Chiang-ling, Hupei Province.² The vessel carries abstract bird designs closely related to those on the Freer *tui*. The principal elements of the designs on the Wang-shan vessel are composed of a wide strip in the middle and outlines on both sides, while the secondary elements form single and double strands.

In a discussion of inlaid designs on ancient bronze vessels, Shih Shu-ch'ing comments on the use of lacquer to enhance the inlay decoration.

Drawing of inlay decoration Cat. no. 9

According to Shih, the bronze vessel from Wang-shan as well as a bronze *hu* from the same find are examples of this type of decor.³ Support for the use of lacquer with inlay designs is provided by a Warring States period *lei* unearthed in Kwangtung Province in 1972. The decoration consists of fine lines of inlaid silver with broad bands of red lacquer.⁴

Excavation reports describe tomb 2 at Wang-shan as having been constructed during the period when the area was under the control of the state of Ch'u. The area near Chiang-ling, on the Yangtzu River, is believed to be the site of Ying, the Ch'u capital from 689 to 278 B.C., but more precise dating of the bronze vessel must depend upon stylistic comparison with other more definitely datable examples. Elaborately inlaid vessels of this type were ob-

Drawing of bronze *lei* from Chao-ch'ing-shih, Kwangtung Province (after H'W, no. 11 [1974]: 71).

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viously made for secular purposes, and it seems likely that they might have been used for several generations before being interred in a tomb. Consequently, the actual date of the manufacture could antedate construction of the tomb in which they were found.

The paired-bird motif that links the Freer *tui* and the vessel found at Wang-shan is an unusual one; apparently no close parallels are available on contemporary inlaid bronze vessels. The border designs, consisting of diagonals and curving bands, on the Freer and Wang-shan vessels are, however, closely related to those found on bronzes associated with Chim-ts'un bronzes. On the basis of those similarities, it seems reasonable to date the Freer *tui* and Wang-shan bronze to the period from the fourth to the third centuries B.C. A southern

provenance for the Freer *tui* is also appropriate.

The Japanese scholar Hayashi Minao discusses the Freer *tui*, referring to it by the term *ho*, and dates it to the late third century B.C. when he believes the shape became popular.⁵

1. The vessel is reproduced and discussed in *Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 62–63, pl. 33; and Pope et al., *The Freer Chinese Bronzes*, 1:532–37, pl. 98, 2:206, fig. 280.
2. *WW*, no. 5 (1966): 33–35, fig. 25.
3. Shih, "Wo kuo ku-tai ti chin-ts'o kung-i," pp. 71–72.
4. *WW*, no. 11 (1974): 71, fig. 5, pl. 5:1.
5. Hayashi, *Chūgoku Inkyō jidai no buki*, (Kyoto, 1972), p. 562.

Detail of mask and ring handle

Drawing of bronze *pien-hu* from Shang-ts'un-ling, Honan Province (after *WW*, no. 3 [1976]: 53).

- 10 Bronze vessel, type *pien-hu*
Warring States period, late 4th–early
3d centuries B.C.
Height 31.1 cm (12¼ in); width 30.5
cm (12 in)
15.103

The *pien-hu*, a flat *hu* or canteen, was an innovation of the Eastern Chou. The shape apparently was introduced at some time around 400 B.C., and such vessels continued to be made into the Han dynasty. The Freer *pien-hu* is related to other bronze examples in its oval shape, flat sides, flaring cylindrical neck, and rectangular molded base. Also typical are the two relief masks with loop muzzles that hold movable rings on the shoulders of the vessel.¹

On most *pien-hu* the two oval faces of the body are separated into rectangular areas arranged like brickmasonry, with each rectangular area filled with a feather-curl design. A characteristic *pien-hu* of this type was unearthed in a Warring States tomb in 1975 in Shang-ts'un-ling, Honan Province.² A *pien-hu* in the Shanghai

Museum is of special interest because of the two inscriptions recording its capacity that are carved onto the outer surfaces of the vessel.³

The inlaid silver decoration sets the Freer *pien-hu* apart from other known examples. Observing strict symmetry throughout, the decoration begins with a restrained diagonal-and-curl motif on the neck. More elaborate variations of that motif cover the two flat oval surfaces and narrower side bands. On those surfaces, the contrast between fine lines and flat bands becomes less balanced toward the bottom of the composition. The emphasis on fine line at the lowermost portions of the design is maintained on the decoration on the foot.

Similar silver inlay designs appear on a round *hu* in the Pillsbury collection.⁴ The masks supporting the pendant rings on that *hu* are awkwardly placed and may be later additions. The same inlay designs appear on a bronze quadruped found in 1965 at Lien-shui, Kiangsu Province.⁵ The plump realism of the quadruped contrasts dramatically with the severe

geometrical inlay silver designs. Two quadrupeds in the National Palace Museum, Taiwan, with no verifiable archaeological provenance, have virtually identical silver inlay decoration.⁶

1. For a discussion of the Freer *pien-hu*, see Pope et al., *The Freer Chinese Bronzes*, 1:518–23, colorpl. 95, 2:206, fig. 283.
2. *WW*, no. 3 (1976): 52–54, pl. 3:1, fig. 3. Three vessels from that tomb—a *fang-chien*, *fang-lei*, and *pien-hu*—are decorated with the brickmasonry design. Without citing any specific examples, the authors of the archaeological report on the Shang-ts'un-ling *pien-hu* note that this type of bronze vessel frequently is unearthed in Shensi Province, where it is called *ya-hsing hu* and is sometimes said to be one of the types characteristically found in tombs of the Ch'in nobility during the Warring States period. The authors, however, add that *pien-hu* are also found in tombs of the Chao, Ch'i, Han, and Wei states.
3. *WW*, no. 7 (1964): 12–13, fig. 2.
4. *Pillsbury Bronzes*, pp. 132–33, pl. 68.
5. *KK*, no. 2 (1973): pl. 10:1.
6. *Ku-kung*, 2:107, 212.

Spear from tomb of Marquis I of the state of Tseng, Sui Hsien, Hupei Province (after *Sui Hsien*, pl. 82).

- 11 Bronze ring
Early Warring States period, 5th century B.C.
Height 3.5 cm (1 $\frac{3}{8}$ in); diameter 5.3 cm (2 $\frac{1}{8}$ in)
79.15

This bronze ring, with convex outer walls and octagonal openings at top and bottom, is covered with a gray green patina. An identical design, consisting of small feather curls in layered relief and granulated areas centered around a raised circle, is repeated twice on the outside of the ring. It is possible that the raised circles originally were inlaid with a contrasting material.

A bronze ring, virtually identical to the Freer example, is illustrated by Orvar Karlbeck in "Selected Objects from Ancient Shou-chou."¹

When studied in isolation, it is difficult to determine the function of

this type of bronze ring. Among the weapons found in the tomb of the Marquis I of the state of Tseng in Sui Hsien, Hupei Province, however, were seven shafted spears fitted with triple-faceted bronze tips. Mounted beneath those tips are bronze rings, some decorated with feather-and-curl motifs in layered relief. Other rings have elongated projecting spikes.² The multifaceted shafts of these spears provide a logical explanation for the octagonal openings on the Freer bronze ring.

One metal tip from the Sui Hsien excavation bears a six-character inscription identifying the weapon as a *shu*, thereby clarifying ancient textual references to a weapon by that name.

1. *BMFEA*, no. 27 (1955): pl. 40:5.

2. *Sui Hsien*, pls. 81–82.

Bronze axle caps from tomb of Marquis I of the state of Tseng, Sui Hsien, Hupei Province (after Sui Hsien, pl. 84).

- 12 Bronze axle cap and linchpin
Early Warring States period, 5th century B.C.
Length 8.1 cm ($3\frac{3}{16}$ in); diameter 7.2 cm ($2\frac{7}{8}$ in)
79.13

The axle cap consists of a wide, circular projecting flange and ten-sided tapering projection. A stylized bird and tree above a contiguous diamond band appear in intaglio on each of the ten rectangular surfaces, arranged so as to form five matching pairs. A stepped horizontal band, ornamented with contiguous diamonds, delineates the register between the flange and projecting cap; abstract curvilinear designs decorate the register. A circle surrounded by C-shaped motifs appears on the flat end of the axle cap. The linchpin, which is corroded in place, is decorated with an animal mask at the top. There is an aperture

beneath the mask and at the lower projecting end of the pin.

Among the bronze objects unearthed in the tomb of the Marquis I of the state of Tseng, at Sui Hsien, Hupei Province, were several axle caps that are similar in size, shape, and decoration to the one in the Freer collection.¹ These relationships permit the Freer axle cap and linchpin to be dated to the fifth century B.C.

In their discussion of the twenty-eight bronze axle caps unearthed at Chung-chou-lu, near Loyang, Honan Province, the authors of the archaeological report indicate that the majority were funerary substitutes, or *ming-ch'i*, with the remaining examples actually being usable. The report emphasizes that in Eastern Chou tombs, axle caps frequently were used as substitutes for a complete chariot.²

For a general discussion of Chinese bronze axle caps, see Orvar Karl-

beck's article, "Notes on Some Chinese Wheel Axle-caps."³

1. Sui Hsien, pls. 83-84.
2. Lo-yang, pp. 106-7.
3. BMFEA, no. 39 (1967): 53-74.

- 13 Bronze finial
Early Warring States period, 5th
century B.C.
Height 8.2 cm (3¼ in); width 4.0 cm
(1⅞ in)
16.454

Surmounting the finial is a feline intertwined with the undulating bodies of a serpent and a bird. The feline holds the serpent's head firmly in its mouth while grasping the coiling body in its front talons. The head of the bird curves upward from the cluster of stylized plumes to join the rear portion of the feline body; its claws also reach up to clasp rings that extend from the feline's rear haunches. As a final unifying link in the tightly organized composition, the feline's rear paws clutch the extended plumage of the bird. A series of small circles, some inset, others raised, ornament

the feline body. Small-grained pebble textures enliven the serpent coils and bird plumage. The square socket at the base of the finial indicates that the piece may have been part of a larger assemblage, probably similar to the bronze acrobat described in catalogue number 37.

In discussing the appearance of combat motifs that include birds and snakes, Charles Weber suggested that since the snake was not indigenous to the steppes, this motif must have had a southern rather than a northern origin.¹ Specialists in vertebrate zoology, however, state that at least half a dozen species of snakes, two of them poisonous, can be found in Inner Mongolia, north of the Great Wall.

William Charles White reproduces two small bronze posts fitted with square sockets and topped with coiled animals and associates them with the

finds at Chin-ts'un, near Loyang, Honan Province.² Another example is in the Singer collection.³ The closest parallel to the iconography of the Freer bronze finial, although larger in scale, appears on a piece in the Danish National Museum, Copenhagen.⁴

1. Charles D. Weber, *Chinese Pictorial Bronze Vessels of the Late Chou Period*, pp. 138–39.

2. White, *Tombs*, pl. LXIX, 167–68.

3. Loehr, *Relics*, pl. 112.

4. Bunker et al., "Animal Style," pp. 94, 102, fig. 71.

14 Bronze ferrule, type *t'un*
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Length 15.5 cm (6 $\frac{1}{8}$ in)
79.12

The surface of the bronze ferrule is covered with an even apple green patina and patches of dark blue accretions. A horizontal raised band decorated with a pair of stylized masks separates the upper and lower portions of the *t'un*. The upper portion of the mounting is an oval-shaped socket with rivet holes on either side. The lower section is octagonal and hollow along the attenuated portion and solid from the slight ridge to the rounded foot.

The function of the bronze *t'un* as a ferrule on the lower end of the wooden shaft of a *ko*, or dagger ax, was clearly demonstrated in an ar-

chaeological find in the area of Ch'u.¹ An earlier discussion of bronze ferrules is provided by Orvar Karlbeck in "Ancient Chinese Bronze Weapons."² Hayashi Minao presents a detailed discussion of the *t'un* and its relationship to bronze *ko* in his magisterial study, *Chūgoku In Shu jidai no boku*.³ According to Max Loehr, ferrule appear to be a novelty of the Eastern Chou.⁴

1. *Ch'u*, p. 81.

2. Karlbeck, "Weapons," p. 199 (fig. 41 on p. 202 illustrates a *t'un* very similar to the piece in the Freer Gallery).

3. Hayashi, *Chūgoku*, pp. 6–96.

4. Loehr, *Chinese Bronze Age Weapons*, p. 163.

- 15 Bronze fitting
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Length 10.5 cm (4 $\frac{1}{8}$ in)
79.23

A single stylized bird head rises from each of the two long sides of the rectangular bronze portion of the fitting. Both birds are depicted with open mouths. From the smaller bird's mouth projects a short, slightly curved flange; the mouth of the larger, more elaborately decorated bird head supports an upward-curving bar capped by a damaged hollow socket. On one side of the hollow socket is a rivet hole. Attached to a ring atop the head of the larger bird is a double-link bar interlocking with a larger ring. The rectangular surfaces, bird heads, hollow socket, and larger ring are decorated with finely cast linear designs.

A similar bronze fitting was unearthed at Shan-piao-chen, Honan Province.¹ In the report of the fitting from tomb 1 at Shan-piao-chen, the piece is described as a *huo-tung k'a-*

huan ("movable fixed ring").² The unornamented underportion of the rectangular section of the bronze fitting may have been inset into the wooden body of a chariot, with the projecting sections and pendant rings serving as supports for decoration and as rein guides.

Another bronze fitting of this type was found in 1972 in tomb 2 at Liu-ho in Ch'eng-ch'iao Chen, Kiangsu Province.³

Orvar Karlbeck includes some bronze fittings of a related kind in "Selected Objects from Ancient Shou-chou."⁴

1. *SPCLLK*, pls. 32:1–4, 51:4–6.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

3. *KK*, no. 2 (1974): 116–20, pl. 6:5.

4. *BMFEA*, no. 27 (1955): pl. 20.

- 16 Two interlocked bronze rings
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Diameter, each, 6 cm (2 $\frac{3}{8}$ in) and 3.7
cm (1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in)
79.17

The two interlocked bronze rings are unequal in size and oval in cross section. Cast into both faces of the larger ring is a simple braid design. A volute and triangle motif appears on one surface of the smaller ring.

Although linked bronze rings have been found in many archaeological sites from the Warring States period, their original use is still uncertain. In discussing several linked rings unearthed at Chao-ku, Honan Province, the editors of the archaeological report suggest that such rings might have been related to chariots or to horse fittings or might have served

another function. They conclude that the likelihood is that they most probably were related to chariots.¹

Orvar Karlbeck includes some rings of this type in "Selected Objects from Ancient Shou-chou."² Similar rings were found in the Warring States tombs at Shan-piao-chen, Honan Province.³

1. *Hui Hsien*, p. 118.

2. *BMFEA*, no. 27 (1955): pl. 19.

3. *SPCLLK*, pls. 30:7, 52:5.

- 17 Two bronze snaffle bits
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
79.8: length 25.1 cm (9 $\frac{7}{8}$ in); 79.9:
22.2 cm (8 $\frac{3}{4}$ in)
79.8–9

These bronze snaffle bits consist of two parts, each having a round and an oval ring connected by a tapering bar. The oval rings of both sections, one of which is set at a right angle, are interlocked. There is evidence of heavy wear on the inner surfaces of the interlocked rings. Mold marks are clearly visible on the rings and connecting bars. Pottery molds used to cast bronze bits of this type were found at Wen Hsien, Honan Province.¹

Eight bronze snaffle bits of this same general type were found scattered in three different Warring States period chariot burials at Liu-li-ko, Honan Province. According to the archaeological report, those bits were

Drawing of bronze snaffle bit with bone cheek pieces from tomb 130, Liu-li-ko, Hui Hsien, Honan Province (after *Hui Hsien*, p. 44).

made with two piece molds. Two of the bits from tomb 130 at Liu-li-ko were unearthed together with pieces of carved bone that had been worked in the shape of octagonal tusks and inserted at either side of the bronze bits through each of the larger rings. Midway along the length of each of the carved bones are two perforations. The bronze rings of the snaffle bits were placed between those perforations, and, according to the editors of the archaeological report, those holes were used as a means of securing the bits in place.² Perhaps the bones were made to resemble tusks to lend the horses a more ferocious appearance.

During the latter part of the Shang dynasty, bits were fitted with rectangular perforated bronze plates that served as cheekpieces and probably were joined by a wooden or leather bit.³ Straight bronze bits with loops at either end were in use by the early Western Chou.⁴ Bronze snaffle bits

appear to have been introduced in the Chou dynasty, probably at some time in the eighth century B.C., and a number of bronze snaffle bits were unearthed at Chung-chou-lu, Honan Province. The earliest of those examples were found together with bronze cheekpieces in the shape of flat arcs, with two semicircular loops at the crest where the snaffle bit would have been secured.⁵ The snaffle bits assigned to the later period at Chung-chou-lu are sturdier in proportion, show signs of wear, and do not have metal cheekpieces. Some, however, were found together with perforated carved bone pieces of the type already described.⁶

Umehara Sueji reproduces several carved bone cheekpieces said to have been found at Li-yü, Shansi Province, and erroneously describes them as bow fittings.⁷ Umehara also illustrates several bronze snaffle bits associated with the Li-yü site. Those bits are of interest because of the trilobed

designs at either end.⁸ Another variation of that design can be seen on snaffle bits found in a funerary site dating from the late Spring and Autumn and early Warring States periods at Chih-yü-ts'un, Yüan-p'ing Hsien, Shansi Province.⁹

During the Ch'in and Han dynasties bronze cheekpieces frequently were produced in long, elegantly abstract forms that appear almost too fragile for the function they served.¹⁰

1. *WW*, no. 9 (1976): 66-75, fig. 8, pl. 8:3.

2. *Hui Hsien*, pp. 43-44.

3. *KK*, no. 4 (1972): pl. 3:1.

4. *WW*, no. 3 (1975): 72-75, fig. 10:3-4.

5. *Lo-yang*, p. 107, pl. 47:1-2.

6. *Ibid.*, pls. 56:2-3, 68:2, 74:9.

7. Umehara, *Sengoku*, pl. 28:3.

8. *Ibid.*, pl. XXVIII:2.

9. *WW*, no. 4 (1972): 69-71, fig. 8.

10. *WW*, no. 10 (1972): 45, fig. 5:1-3; *KKHP*, no. 2 (1976): 149-170, pl. 5; *WW*, no. 5 (1978): 12, fig. 12.

Drawings of bronze finial from tomb 1 at Ku-wei-ts'un, Hui Hsien, Honan Province (after *Hui Hsien*, p. 79).

- 18 Two bronze finials
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Height 6.1 cm (2⁷/₁₆ in)
53.80–81

Three narrow rings extend outward horizontally from the upper sections of the tubular finials. Simple gold and silver inlay designs, consisting of four vertical lines, ornament the flat outer edges of the rings. A broad inlay gold band appears on the top of the pieces, encircling the apertures. The lower portions of both finials are inlaid with addorsed gold birds enclosed within silver volutes. Subtle variations in these inlay decorations, especially in the depiction of the birds, reflect the artist's freedom of invention. One finial is round in cross section, the other is slightly ovoid. Presumably, the finials were fittings on a ceremonial chariot, and the small square open-

ings on the sides were used to secure the pieces to a wooden shaft.

A bronze chariot fitting of similar shape and inlaid with gold and silver was found in tomb 1 at Ku-wei-ts'un Hui Hsien, Honan Province. It has only two horizontal rings, while the Freer finials each have three. The editors of the archaeological report mention that bronze caps shaped like axle caps were found on the tops of the two rear corner posts of a chariot in tomb 131 at Liu-li-ko and conclude that the bronze fitting inlaid with gold and silver found in tomb 1 at Ku-wei-ts'un probably served the same function.¹

Related bronze fittings are also said to have been found at Chin-ts'un, near Loyang, Honan Province.²

1. *Hui Hsien*, p. 79, fig. 97:1, pl. 51:4, discussion on pp. 79–80.

2. White, *Tombs*, pls. VI:013a–b, LXX:172a.

19 Two bronze ferrules, type *t'un*
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Length 9 cm (3½ in)
79.10–11

1. *The China Journal of Science and Arts* 3
(1925): 200, fig. 27.

Both bronze ferrules are covered with an olive green patina mottled by brown, green, and tan accretions. The upper and lower portions of the *t'un* are separated by a stepped horizontal band decorated with a pointed crest. The upper portion of the mounting is an oval-shaped socket with rivet holes on either side. The lower portion is solid and octagonal in section; it curves inward before flaring slightly to form a flat foot. Pieces of wood remain inside each ferrule.

In “Ancient Chinese Bronze Weapons,” Orvar Karlbeck illustrates a virtually identical *t'un*.¹

- 20 Five bronze fittings
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Average length 9.8 cm (3 $\frac{7}{8}$ in)
79.18–23

The bronze fittings have **U**-shaped sockets open at one end, with irregular perforations on each of the long sides. The curved undersides of the sockets are decorated with triangular motifs and have a contiguous diamond band at the open ends. Two animal heads rise from the flat upper surfaces of the fittings. The smaller heads are simply rendered; the larger, birdlike heads are decorated with a granular pattern and curvilinear crest. The elongated octagonal beak projections have simple striations on two of the planes indicating the upper and lower portions of the beak. A gray

Drawing of bronze frame for a chariot umbrella from tomb 1 at T'ien-hsing-kuan, Chiang-ling, Hupei Province (after *KKHP*, no. 1 [1982]: 89).

Drawing of proposed reconstruction of relationship between the central umbrella cap, projecting spines, and metal finials (after *KKHP*, no. 3 [1978]: 325).

green patina covers the surfaces of the fittings.

A bronze fitting virtually identical to those in the Freer collection is illustrated by Orvar Karlbeck in "Selected Objects from Ancient Shou-chou."¹ The piece illustrated by Karlbeck is now in the collection of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm. There seems to be no reason to question a Shou-chou provenance for the pieces in the Freer collection.

Writing in 1960, E. Morton Grosser identified bronze fittings of this type as "longbow tips."² Subsequent archaeological finds, however, have yielded similar bronze fittings, some unearthed still attached to long arched spines and in close proximity to a central bronze disk with perforations spaced at regular intervals around the

outer edge.³ On the basis of such finds, Chinese archaeologists now identify metal fittings of the type in the Freer collection as having served as finials at the end of large umbrellas that shaded chariots.

1. *BMFEA* 27 (1955): pl. 43:7.

2. Grosser, "A Further Note on the Chou Dynasty Pistol-Crossbow," *AA* 23 (1960): 209-10, fig. 1.

3. *Hui Hsien*, p. 44, fig. 54:3, pls. 49:10-12, 52:6, 66:1-3, 90:14-15; *KKHP*, no. 1 (1972): 67, fig. 8, pl. 16:3-4, no. 3 (1978): 325, no. 1 (1982): 89.

- 21 Two iron plaques
 Warring States period, 5th–4th
 centuries B.C.
 Height 6.9 cm (2¾ in); width 6.4 cm
 (2⅝ in)
 33.10–11

The iron core faces of these plaques are covered with repoussé goldleaf and inlaid with semicircular pieces of mottled green jade. A pair of eyes and striated muzzle at the center of each plaque bespeak an animal mask. Surrounding those specifically animal features is an intricate symmetrical pattern of incised curls, textured bands, and dotted planes that lends them a fabulous appearance.

Although these plaques traditionally have been identified as funerary sleeve weights, there is no certainty that they actually were so used. No comparable examples of funerary metalwork have been unearthed in the People's Republic of China. The nearest parallels for masks of this type are the fantastic masks that support pendant ring handles on Warring States period bronze ritual vessels.

- 22 Gold foil plaque
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Length 12.7 cm (5 in)
Gift of The Honorable and Mrs.
Hugh Scott
80.101

The hybrid creature is composed of a bird and a dragon head, in left profile, joined by a single curvilinear body. Details such as eyes and ears are indicated by striated bands chased from the front onto the sheet of hammered gold. Interlaced dragons framed by striated bands occur along the surface of the curvilinear body. Dragon heads on related examples customarily are topped by a single horn. The irregular upper surface on this dragon head suggests that it originally supported a horn. The plaque is broken into two major pieces and

joined in the lower left corner. The damaged area is marked by a small, irregular hole and a large tear along the lower edge. The left and right edges of the plaque each have two perforations, presumably to attach the piece to another surface. The circumference of the plaque, both front and back, bears traces of a red pigment that tentatively has been identified as red iron oxide.

A number of related gold plaques are in Western collections.¹

Gold plaques of various types have been unearthed in burials assigned to the Eastern Chou period. A circular plaque with interlaced bands said to have been found among the artifacts at Hsin-cheng, Honan Province, is now in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm.² A group of twelve small gold plaques from the tomb of the marquis of Ts'ai (r. 518–

491 B.C.), Anhui Province, perhaps were meant for decoration of a belt.³ In the archaeological report of the Hou-ma tombs, Shansi Province, mention is made of thirty-two bronze cowries wrapped in gold, two circular gold ornaments, and four gold "bubbles"⁴

The depiction of composite fantastic creatures of the type seen in the Freer plaque has parallels in contemporary jade carvings.⁵

1. Paul Singer, *Early Chinese Gold and Silver* (New York, 1971), nos. 3–4; *Brundage Bronzes*, pl. L; and Bo Gyllensvärd, *Chinese Gold and Silver in the Carl Kempe Collection* (Stockholm, 1953), p. 70, no. 9.
2. Andersson, "The Goldsmith in Ancient China," pl. XVII.
3. *Shou Hsien*, pp. 15–16, pl. 30.
4. *KK*, no. 5 (1963): 229–45, figs. 6, 14:24.
5. Loehr, *Jades*, pp. 286–87, nos. 424–27.

Bronze ting and pair of hooks from tomb of Marquis I of the state of Tseng, Hupei Province (after *Sui Hsien*, pl. 42).

- 23 Bronze hook
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Length 22.3 cm (8¹³/₁₆ in)
44.57

The bronze curving hook is joined to a hinged oval handle to permit the hook to swing freely. Both hook and handle are decorated with monster masks and curvilinear abstract motifs. The masks—which appear at the center of the oval handle, midway along the length of the hook, and at the tip of the hook as a finial—have protruding eyes and flattened horns. The diagonal striations and scale patterns on the masks are stylistically related to similar details on bronze vessels and implements dating from the fifth to fourth centuries B.C. The undersurfaces of the hook and handle are undecorated. Surrounding the abstract

motifs are sunken relief areas that probably were originally inlaid with contrasting materials, such as turquoise, gold, or silver.

The hook originally was described as a garment hook.¹ Its size and hinged handle, however, suggest a more practical function. The publication of the preliminary reports on finds from the tomb of the Marquis I of the state of Tseng, Hupei Province, made possible a plausible explanation for the purpose of the hook. Included among the bronze artifacts from that tomb were a series of covered ting tripods accompanied by pairs of hooks similar in size, shape, and construction to the one in the Freer collection.² Apparently hooks of this type were inserted through the open handles of bronze vessels to lift the tripods while they were still hot.

The hooks found in the tomb of

the Marquis I of the state of Tseng are the first to have been unearthed in situ. On the basis of an inscription found on a bronze bell in the tomb, the contents have been dated circa 433 B.C.

The custom of using specifically designed pairs of bronze hooks to lift heated ritual vessels seems to have been introduced during the late Eastern Chou period. Their use reflects the elaboration of the number and types of bronze vessels required for the ritual ceremony in ancestor worship discussed by Kuo Pao-chün.³

1. Umehara, *Ōbei shūcho Shina kodō seika*, pt. III, vol. 1, pl. 65. A jade hook of the same shape as the Freer example, although smaller in size, is reproduced in Loehr, *Relics*, p. 99.

2. "Hu-pei Sui Hsien Tseng Hou-i mu fa-chüeh chien-pao," *WW*, no. 7 (1979): 1–14, pl. 2:2; *Sui Hsien*, pls. 37, 42.

3. *SPCLLK*, pp. 11–12.

- 24 Bronze animal mask and ring
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Mask height 7.5 cm (3 in); mask
width 5.3 cm (2 1/8 in)
17.18

The mask is dominated by two rounded eyes set within sharply ridged lids. Gold diagonal striations above the eyes suggest brows. The remaining elements, the gold and silver flat bands with small curling accents, are purely abstract and can be interpreted as jaw or horns only because of their relationship to the eyes. A loop projecting from between the eyes holds the ring, which is inlaid with gold and silver designs composed of curls and diagonals. Two loops on the back of the mask provide the means to fasten it to another surface.

During the Shang dynasty and early Western Chou period, the t'ao-t'ieh mask was the most common motif on Chinese ritual vessels. After the fall of Shang, a number of innovations were made by Chou bronze casters. One of the most far-reaching changes during the Western Chou was the dissolution and ultimate disappearance of the t'ao-t'ieh mask as the main decorative element. Animal masks, however, continued to be used as plastic decoration on the crests of handles from which free-hanging rings, occasionally, would be suspended. In a later form, the mask was designed as a plaque in low relief and attached directly to the vessel. The loop to support a pendant ring emerged from the face of the mask. During the Eastern Chou, animal masks supporting ring handles were particularly popular, and it is possible

to trace a gradual change in the shape of those masks into the Han dynasty. The most distinctive changes in the animal masks of the Eastern Chou are the preference for a horizontal rectangular shape and, fully developed during the Han, a pronounced tripartite separation of the mask, with a large foliate central projection balanced on either side by curling bands resembling horns.

- 25 Bronze terminal ornament
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Length 25.5 cm (10 $\frac{1}{16}$ in)
32.14

The ornament is modeled in the form of a dragon head with gaping mouth, raised stylized whiskers, and curling ears. At the top of the piece is a square hole, probably meant to hold a pin for attachment to a wooden shaft, perhaps to the end of a chariot pole. The modeled bronze surfaces are overlaid with gold and engraved with striated curvilinear designs that are somewhat obscured by patination. The teeth and eyeballs are overlaid with silver, the pupils of the eyes are of glass.¹ The thin curling silver tongue is gilded. A small loop under the lower jaw may have served for the suspension of a tassel. The orna-

ment is said to have been unearthed in a horse pit near the entrance of one of the tombs at Chin-ts'un, near Lo-yang, Honan Province.² Another bronze ornament of comparable size and workmanship, now in the British Museum, is also said to have come from the horse pits at Chin-ts'un.³

Additional proof that the Freer ornament might have served to decorate the end of a chariot pole was provided by finds at Ku-wei-ts'un, Hui Hsien, Honan Province.⁴ A single bronze animal mask inlaid with gold and silver was unearthed together with the remains of two chariots from the southern ramp of tomb 1. According to the archaeological report, the ornament was found at the horizontal juncture of the chariot shaft.

1. The date and origin of the earliest glass found in China remain perplexing problems. A convenient summary of tradi-

tional Western ideas on early Chinese glass is provided by R. Soame Jenyns, "Glass and Painting on Glass," pp. 119–43, chap. 2, in *Chinese Art* by Jenyns and William Watson. It was believed that the earliest examples of glass in China probably dated from the Warring States period and that some of those pieces were of Western manufacture. As early as 1959, however, Chinese scholars proposed that a type of glass different from that made in the West had been produced in China during the Eastern Chou period ("Ch'ang-sha Ch'u mu," *KKHP*, no. 1 [1959]: 41–60, especially p. 58 and pl. XIII:6–10). More recently, a large number of small glass beads have been found in archaeological sites dated to the early Western Chou (eleventh century B.C.), and preliminary examination of the chemical composition of those beads has prompted some Chinese specialists to suggest that their lead-barium composition is quite different from Western examples and that they should be recognized

as an early type of glass made in China. It has been further proposed that the early Chinese glass industry developed along with contemporary bronze manufacture (Yang Po-ta, "Kuan-yü wu-kuo ku po-li shih yen-chiu ti chi-ko wen-t'i," *WIV*, no. 5 [1979]: 76-78; "Hsi Chou po-li ti ch'u-pu yen-chiu," *Ku-kung po-wu-yüan yüan-k'an*, no. 2 [1980]: 14-24).

2. White, *Tombs*, pl. III. According to White (p. 34), the pits contained only bronze chariot fittings and the skeletal remains of horses (see also Umehara, *Rakuyō*, pl. LI; *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 86, pl. 41).

3. White, *Tombs*, pls. I-II.

4. Hui Hsien color frontispiece and pl. 50, p. 78.

- 26 Two bronze fittings
Warring States period, 5th-4th
centuries B.C.
Length 25.6 cm (10 $\frac{1}{8}$ in)
32.15-16

The rectangular hollow sockets of the pair of bronze fittings terminate in an animal head with open mouth, the lower jaw curving upward to become a serpent. With the exception of the inner and lower curved sections, the surfaces of the fittings are decorated with inlaid gold and silver geometric patterns. The naturalistic modeling of the eyes, muzzles, and curling ears on the large heads and corresponding details on the smaller serpent heads contrasts with the bold geometric inlay designs. The most conspicuous inlay motif consists of a wide T-shaped band bordered by thin lines and curls. On the upward-curving hooks the in-

lay designs consist of triangles and curls. A wide, plain silver band bordered by a thin line marks the ends of the rectangular hollow sockets. One of the sockets still contains some wooden fragments.¹

Umehara Sueji includes the Freer fittings in his study of objects said to have been found at Chin-ts'un, near Loyang, Honan Province.² Another pair of inlaid bronze fittings, now in the Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Mass., of similar size and shape was reported to have been found in a horse pit at Chin-ts'un.³ The Fogg fittings are more plastically modeled than the pair in the Freer collection. A clawed foot, modeled in high relief, curves backward from behind the ear of the larger head. The delicate inlaid gold and silver designs are clearly subordinate to the plasticity of the animal heads. On the Freer fit-

Drawings of crossbow from Sao-pa-t'ang, Ch'ang-sha, Hunan Province (after *WW*, no. 6 [1964]: 35:3).

Drawing of reconstructed crossbow from Chung-chou-lu, Loyang, Honan Province (after *KK*, no. 3 [1974]: 177).

tings, which represent a later stylistic development, that relationship has shifted in favor of the inlay motifs.

Also included among the objects reputedly unearthed at Chin-ts'un is a pair of bronze fittings of this same general type, though smaller in size and considerably simpler in shape.⁴ Almost completely abstract in shape, the simpler fittings are dominated by wedge-shaped projections; the only naturalistic details are the bird heads at the ends of the upward-turning elements. The geometric designs inlaid into the bronze surfaces are earlier in style than the elaborate inlay motifs that appear on the Freer and Fogg fittings. These simpler shaped bronze fittings are quite close in design to the bow carriages of crossbows such as the one unearthed in the Warring States period tomb 138 at Sao-pa-t'ang, in the southern environs of

Ch'ang-sha, Hunan Province.⁵

Two other bronze fittings of the simpler type were unearthed in 1954 in a cache at Yung-chi, Shansi Province.⁶ That pair, one of which was damaged, was found by farmers in the eroded bank of the Yellow River when the water had subsided after a flood. Their rectangular surfaces are inlaid with boldly curving inlay designs. Features that seem typical of these more abstractly shaped bronze fittings are their relatively smaller size and the placement of the upward-curving hooks considerably higher than on examples with realistically modeled animal heads.

Evidently these two general types of fittings continued to be used over a relatively long period. Among the luxurious tomb furnishings from the Western Han site of Man-ch'eng, Hopei Province, were twelve fittings.

According to the archaeological report, all were found in pairs in association with chariots. Illustrated in the archaeological report are examples of both types already described, with the animal-headed pieces again being slightly larger.⁷

During the Sung dynasty, two fittings of this type in the imperial collection were identified in the official twelfth-century catalogue as being decoration for a chariot.⁸ That traditional identification has persisted to the present day.

New information about the function of these fittings came to light in 1972, when a pair of inlay bronze fittings was unearthed in a Warring States period horse pit at Chung-chou-lu, Loyang, Honan Province.⁹ Those fittings were found at the left of a chariot, arranged on either side of a wooden shaft fitted with a cross-

Drawings of bronze crossbow fittings
from Man-ch'eng, Hopei Province (after
Man-ch'eng, p. 198).

bow mechanism, and decorated with an inlay bronze butt ornament. The circumstances of the find suggest that the pairs of fittings actually functioned as part of a crossbow and were meant to hold a bow. Scratches on the inner surfaces of the fittings might have been caused by the abrasion of a wooden bow.

Some uncertainty remains as to when the crossbow was first used in China. Writing in 1957, Chou Wei suggested that crossbows might have been known in ancient times in the cultures of Wu and Yüeh.¹⁰ Chou Ch'ing-chi, in 1961, introduced the possibility that the crossbow might have been invented in the state of Ch'u and that it might have been in use as early as the Spring and Autumn period.¹¹ Other Chinese scholars place greater emphasis upon the Warring States period for the appear-

ance of the crossbow in China; most repeat Chou Ch'ing-chi's suggestion that the state of Ch'u played a major role in that invention.¹² The Japanese scholar Hayashi Minao, writing in 1972, proposed a fourth century B.C. date for the appearance of the crossbow in China.¹³

Opinions differ as to whether the early crossbows were operated by hand alone or with the feet for additional strength. Kao Chih-hsi tentatively suggests that during the Warring States period crossbows were principally operated by hand, although feet were sometimes also used.¹⁴ During the Han dynasty, he believes, the feet became the common means of bending the bow. Richard C. Rudolph¹⁵ and E. Morton Grosser¹⁶ discuss other questions relating to the Chinese crossbow.

1. For an early discussion of the Freer fittings, see *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 87, pl. 41.
2. Umehara, *Rakuyō*, pl. 56, top.
3. One of the fittings is reproduced by White, *Tombs*, pl. XXIV. Both fittings were published by Umehara, *Rakuyō*, pls. 54–55.
4. White, *Tombs*, pl. XXII:051, illustrates one of the fittings.
5. *WW*, no. 6 (1964): pl. 35:3.
6. *WWTKTL*, no. 8 (1955): 40–45, fig. 4.
7. *Man-ch'eng*, 1:196–98, fig. 134:1–2, 2: colorpl. 18, pls. 135–36.
8. *Hsüan-ho po-ku t'u-hu*, chüan 27:32a–33b.
9. *KK*, no. 3 (1974): 171–78, figs. 3, 7, pl. 3:4.
10. Chou Wei, *Chung-kuo ping-ch'i shih-k'ao*, p. 158.
11. *KK*, no. 11 (1961): 608.
12. *WW*, no. 6 (1964): 41; *WW*, no. 4 (1963): 1–20; Yang K'uan, *Chan-kuo shih*, pp. 133–44; *KK*, no. 1 (1980): 77–83.
13. Hayashi, *Chūgoku*, p. 301.
14. *WW*, no. 6 (1964): 41–42.

15. Rudolph, "The Minatory Crossbowman in Early Chinese Tombs," *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America* 29 (1965): 8–14.

16. Grosser, "The Reconstruction of a Chou Dynasty Weapon," *AA* 23, no. 2 (1960): 83–94; and idem, "A Further Note on the Chou Dynasty Pistol-Crossbow," pp. 209–10.

Details of inlay designs

- 27 Bronze tripod
Warring States period, 4th–3d
centuries B.C.
Height, folded, 57.4 cm (22⁷/₁₆ in)
47.1

The bronze tripod consists of three parts: three legs hinged to a short socketed rod that forms a stand when the legs are spread out, a vertical rod that fits into the socket and terminates in a hinged button, over which fits a zoomorphic, movable head. The jaws of the zoomorphic head form a slot 1.5 centimeters deep, 0.8 centimeters high, and 2.2 centimeters wide. Nothing is definitely known of the use of the tripod, but it may have been a folding mirror stand. The rods and legs are modeled in clearly defined segments that imitate bamboo. At the end of each leg is a tripartite foot.

Particularly noteworthy are the intricate gold and silver inlay designs covering the tripod. Curvilinear designs are applied over the surfaces without regard to the specific areas defined by the individually modeled bamboo segments.

Umehara Sueji includes the tripod with other artifacts said to have been unearthed at Chin-ts'un, near Loyang, Honan Province,¹ but no definite information supports that provenance.

1. Umehara, *Rakuyō*, pp. 39–40, pl. 57. Charles William White does not reproduce the Freer tripod in his book on the Chin-ts'un finds. He does, however, include a semicircular bronze mirror stand that is quite unlike the one in the Freer collection (see White, *Tombs*, pl. XLVI:119).

28 Bronze sword
Early Warring States period, first half
5th century B.C.
Length 55.0 cm (21 $\frac{5}{8}$ in)
29.19

The sword guard, with a saddle between the rounded shoulders, is ornamented with an inlaid gold and turquoise decor that may have been derived from a t'ao-t'ieh mask. An ovoid hilt with two ring rolls crowned by a concave pommel disk inlaid on both surfaces with gold ornamentation rises from the saddle. The sword blade, of rhombic cross section, is distinguished by relatively broad facets. Both blade edges are heavily encrusted, and there is considerable deterioration.

A twenty-character inscription arranged ten characters to a side is inlaid on the blade. As is typical, the characters are placed so as to be right side up when the sword is held by the hilt. Although the last character has not been deciphered, the inscription can be rendered, "On the auspicious

cious day jen-wu, [this sword was] made for righteous use. Pure gold covers the spine. I myself have named it, calling it 'little. . . .'¹

The importance of the Freer sword, in terms of establishing a chronology and understanding the cultural relationships among the various states during the Warring States period, depends upon its close similarity with the sword found in 1923 at Li-yü, Shansi Province.² If for no other reason, the Li-yü sword is noteworthy because it was the only object recovered from that well-known hoard of bronze vessels to have an inscription. Because the sword blade is heavily encrusted, only three characters are visible. Those three characters are identical to the corresponding characters on the Freer sword.³

Opinions differ as to whether the sword was introduced to China from outside or was developed independently by the Chinese.⁴ In any case, there is no denying that the sword appeared in China relatively late, with the finds from the ancient state of

Kuo at Shang-ts'un-ling, Honan Province, demonstrating that they were in use before 655 B.C.⁵ During the Chou dynasty the sword became an important military weapon, and as late as the fifth century B.C. swords of the type represented by the Freer example were made with elongated blades and articulated handles. According to Chinese records and on the basis of archaeological finds, it appears that some of the finest swords were made in south China. Excavations in the areas occupied by the ancient states of Ch'u, Wu, and Yüeh have yielded outstanding examples of Eastern Chou swords.⁶ While iron swords were made during the Eastern Chou, bronze examples continue to be more numerous in excavations. It is worthy of note that most of the weapons recently unearthed in the large pits near the mausoleum of Ch'in Shih-huang-ti are of bronze.

1. For discussions of the inscription, see Kuo Mo-jo, *Ku-tai ming-k'o hui-k'ao hsü-pien* (Tokyo, 1934), p. 29a; idem, *Liang*

Chou chin-wen-tz'u ta-hsi t'u-lu k'ao-shih, pp. 240-41; *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 99, pl. 50.

2. Umehara, *Sengoku*, pl. 25, text, p. 8.

3. Umehara Sueji includes the Freer sword in *Ôbei shûcho Shina kodô seika*, 7: pl. 101, and dates it to the Warring States period. He notes that the sword traditionally is said to have been unearthed in the area of Chang-chia-k'ou, Shensi Province. In *Sengoku*, p. 28, Umehara raises the possibility that the Freer sword might also have been unearthed at Li-yü.

4. Max Loehr believes the Chinese developed the sword themselves (*Chinese Bronze Age Weapons*, pp. 72-82). Olov Janse ("Notes sur quelques épées anciennes trouvées en Chine," pp. 97-99), William Watson (*China before the Han Dynasty*, p. 139), and Ludwig Bachhofer (*A Short History of Chinese Art*, p. 46), among others, believe the sword was introduced to China from outside its borders.

5. *STLK*, pls. XXXV:1, XLVI:6, LIV:4.

6. In his study, *Chung-kuo ku-ping-ch'i lun-tung* (Peking, 1980), p. 119, Yang Hung mentions a single Ch'u tomb in Chiang-ling that yielded thirty-two bronze swords.

Rubbings of sword decorations

- 29 Bronze sword
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Length 52.4 cm (20 $\frac{5}{8}$ in)
24.15

Intricate raised linear designs are arranged symmetrically on the surfaces of the guard and two ring rolls of the handle. The relief designs on each guard surface are different, and traces of turquoise inlay appear within the individual motifs. A series of concentric rings on the interior of the round concave disk pommel probably was meant to secure an ornament, perhaps a jade pommel of the type found on the sword unearthed at Li-yü, Shansi Province.¹ The grip of the Freer sword is round in cross section at the pommel and gradually becomes oval as it approaches the guard. The blade, which has faceted edges and is rhomboid in

cross section, is broken horizontally into five sections of unequal length with one portion missing.

A sword of similar proportions and decoration is in Stockholm.² Like the one in the Freer collection, it is said to have been found near Shou-chou, Anhui Province.

1. Umehara, *Sengoku*, pl. XXVI:1. Concentric rings of the same type that occur on the disk pommel of the Freer sword can be seen on an example unearthed in a late Eastern Chou tomb in Hunan Province (see *WW*, no. 3 [1977]: 47, fig. 30:3).

2. Palmgren, *Selected Chinese Artifacts from the Collection of Gustaf Adolf*, p. 20, pl. 18:3.

30 Bronze sword
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Length 46.8 cm (18 $\frac{3}{8}$ in)
79.6

A hollow round tapering handle, without disk pommel, is topped by an everted lip. Serving as the guard and base of the hilt is a rhombus plate. The blade is rhombic in section and has a median crest. Both blade surfaces are covered with a blue green patina and earth accretions. This sword type, which represents an earlier development than that of the three following examples, is worn by the bronze caryatid figures unearthed in the fifth century B.C. tomb of the Marquis I of the state of Tseng, Sui Hsien, Hopei Province (illustrated here on p. 20).

The sword is said to have been found at Shou-chou, Anhui Province.

31 Bronze sword
Warring States period, 4th century
B.C.
Length 43.1 cm (17 in)
79.5

Impressions of fabric wrapping remain on the encrustation covering the round handle that is encircled by two ring rolls and surmounted by a disk pommel. Some swords of this type have been unearthed with portions of the original silk cord wrapping still intact. Evidently such wrappings provided a more secure grasp on the sword. A rhombus plate serves as a guard and base for the hilt. The blade, which has a median crest and faceted edges, is rhombic in section.

According to information provided in 1936, the Freer sword was said to have been found at Shou-chou, Anhui Province.

32 Bronze sword
Warring States period, 4th–3d
centuries B.C.
Length 45.3 cm (17 $\frac{3}{8}$ in)
79.3

The sword has a round handle girt by two ring rings and surmounted by a concave disk pommel. The guard, which is slightly wider than the blade, has a saddle between rounded shoulders. Approximately rhomboid in shape, the blade is distinguished by relatively broad and concave facets that are emphasized by a slight protrusion of the median crest. The lower part of the blade narrows at a point higher than is usual. Some bronze swords of this type reached lengths of more than sixty centimeters. Iron swords were considerably longer.

This sword traditionally is said to have been found at Shou-chou, Anhui Province.

33 Bronze sword
Warring States period, 4th–3d
centuries B.C.
Length 43.4 cm. (17 $\frac{1}{8}$ in)
79.4

Two ring rolls encircle the round handle of the sword, which is surmounted by a concave pommel. The transition between handle and blade is marked by a guard that projects slightly at either side and has a saddle between rounded shoulders. Faceted edges and a slightly raised median crest accent the blade, which is nearly rhomboid in cross section.

The sword is said to have been found at Shou-chou, Anhui Province.

- 34 Bronze halberd, type *chi*
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Height 44.0 cm (17½ in); width 29.8
cm (11¾ in)
Gift of General and Mrs. Albert
Wedemeyer
80.208

The long, slender horizontal blade curves downward toward the point; the contour of the lower edge of that blade is interrupted by a broad concave curve that merges with three cusped projections on the *hu*, or downward elongation of the edge. There is a curved median crest. A narrower, hooked blade projects from the opposite side of the halberd. It curves downward and, on the lower edge, joins two cusped projections. These slender, gracefully proportioned curving blades provide a dramatic contrast with the wide, crested blade that rises vertically between

Bronze halberd said to have been unearthed at Ch'ang-sha, Hunan Province (after *Chin-kuei*, p. 55).

them. Six small rectangular vertical slits arranged on the lower portion of the halberd served to lash it to a wooden shaft. The entire surface of the halberd is covered with a mottled green and, occasionally, blue patina. Earth accretions also appear on the surface of the weapon's three blades. The wide vertical blade has a horizontal break that subsequently has been repaired.

Few halberds as complex as the Freer example have been published. Ch'en Jen-t'ao illustrates a bronze halberd of similar size that he identifies as having been unearthed at Ch'ang-sha, Hunan Province, and dates to the Warring States period.¹ The Ch'ang-sha provenance is given support by another halberd unearthed from tomb 1 at Liu-ch'eng-ch'iao, near Ch'ang-sha, in 1971. On the basis of objects found in that tomb, the editors of the archaeological report date the finds to the fifth century B.C.² Although the

halberd from Liu-ch'eng-ch'iao was damaged, it is of special interest because the pole to which it was hafted was found intact.

The bronze *chi*, or halberd, evolved from the sturdy *ko*, or dagger ax. During the late Shang dynasty, bronze dagger axes and pointed spears—the components of the halberd—were cast separately. Assemblages of the two weapons continued to be made as late as the Warring States period.³ By the Western Chou, halberds were being cast in one piece, as is evidenced by the examples found in archaeological excavations.⁴ The

halberd became a more common weapon during the Eastern Chou; during the late Warring States and Han periods, halberds were made, frequently of iron, in a simplified shape consisting of a long vertical shaft from which a single blade projects downward at an oblique angle.⁵ Hayashi Minao provides a detailed discussion of the Chinese halberd in his excellent study, *Chūgoku In Shu ji-dai no buki*.⁶

1. *Chin-kuei*, p. 55, pl. 5:20.

2. *KKHP*, no. 1 (1972): 59–72, pl. 15:3.

3. *KK*, no. 3 (1973): 155, fig. 7:2.

4. Kuo Pao-chün, *Chun Hsien Hsin-ts'un* (Peking, 1964), pls. 21:1–2, 22:1–2, 23:1–2, 66:1–2, 67:1, 68:1–3; *KK*, no. 4 (1976): pl. 252, fig. 7:6, 8–9; *KKHP*, no. 2 (1977): 99–130, fig. 12, pl. 13; *WW*, no. 4 (1977): 67, fig. 6:5, pl. 8:4.

5. *KKHP*, no. 1 (1957): 150; *KK* 4 (1978): pl. 11:8–9.

6. Hayashi, *Chūgoku*, pp. 14–96.

35 Bronze quadruped
Late Spring and Autumn–early Warring States periods, 5th century B.C.
Height 11.8 cm (4 $\frac{5}{8}$ in); length 20.4 cm (8 $\frac{1}{16}$ in)
48.24

This quadruped stands on all four hooves with head and ears erect. The legs are slightly bent as if the animal were about to leap forward. An imbricated design with interior granulation on the muzzle is the only attempt to represent seminatural texture. The remaining surface is covered with intricate scroll bands surrounded by fine, small spirals and triangles. Narrow twisted bands encircle the neck and body of the animal, subtly indicating the animal's domestication.

The link between the Freer quadruped and the Li-yü hoard was initially supported by a photograph of an almost identical piece said to have

come from Li-yü, Shansi Province, and published by Alfred Salmony in 1925, only two years after those bronzes were unearthed.¹ That quadruped is now in the British Museum, London. Two other similar examples are in the Avery Brundage collection, San Francisco,² and Fujii Foundation, Kyoto.³ Shang Ch'eng-tso was correct when in 1936 he suggested that there may have been four such quadrupeds.⁴

The spectacular discoveries of some thirty thousand fragments of models and molds at the site of Hou-ma in southwestern Shansi Province furnish dramatic proof of the scale of bronze casting in that area.⁵ The fragments display characteristically delicate Li-yü motifs, and several are almost identical to designs on the Freer quadruped.

1. Salmony, *Chinesische Plastik* (Berlin, 1925), fig. 3. See also Salles, "Les bronzes de Li-yü," 8:146–58, especially pl. L:a.

Pottery mold from Hou-ma, Shansi Province (after Hsin Chung-kuo ch'u-t'u wen-wu, pl. 71).

2. *Brundage Bronzes*, pl. XLVIIIa.

3. Umehara, *Sengoku*, pl. XXI:2.

4. Shang Ch'eng-tso, *Hsin-yüan i-ch'i t'u*, pl. 27.

5. *WW*, nos 8–9 (1960), no. 10 (1961); *KK*, no. 2 (1962), no. 5 (1963).

- 36 Bronze quadruped
Late Spring and Autumn-early Warring States periods, 5th century B.C.
Height 11.5 cm (4½ in); length 18.2 cm (7⅞ in)
40.23

The slightly rotund quadruped, like the one in the preceding entry, stands firmly on four short legs, its head erect and eyes alert. Both the stance and expression lend the creature a remarkable sense of animation. The modeling of the animal's body, with special emphasis on such details as muzzle, ears, and hooves, expresses the artisan's careful observation of nature. In spite of those details, it is not possible to identify the animal precisely, although it bears a general resemblance to a tapir. The surface of the piece is covered with pebbling and scales of various sizes, which were probably intended to indicate roughly textured skin. The cowrie-

shell collar, two bands encircling the body, and narrower band running along the back from nose to tail are suggestive of harness fittings, while the intertwined striated bands that ornament the fore- and hindquarters are apparently purely decorative.¹

At the same time that Shang and Chou dynasty artisans were fashioning bronze ritual vessels and decorating their surfaces with complex hybrid bird and animal motifs, they also produced a smaller number of bronzes, whose handsomely sculptured forms faithfully reproduce those of specific birds and animals. Some of those bronzes are fitted with lids and obviously were designed for use as containers; others appear to have had no practical or ritual function.

In March 1923, a group of bronze vessels was found at the village of Li-yü, in northern Shansi Province. The different styles of ornamentation that appear on the bronze vessels said to

have come from Li-yü indicate that they must have been made over a long period of time, and dates ranging from the seventh to third centuries B.C. have been suggested for individual pieces. A number of bronzes are related to each other stylistically by their characteristic interlaced meander band ornamentation. That particular style of ornamentation is often referred to as "Li-yü" style. Many Li-yü bronzes also have subordinate details, including some extremely realistically modeled birds and animals that were combined with highly abstract interlaced meander bands. The surfaces of those birds and animals are covered with the same type of pebbling and interlaced band designs that appear on the Freer quadruped. These stylistic similarities have long been recognized, and the Freer quadruped traditionally has been assigned a Shansi provenance and a late Eastern Chou date.

Bronze vessel from tomb 126 at Fen-shui-ling, Ch'ang-chih, Shansi Province (after *WW*, no. 4 [1972]: pl. 1).

Further support for the Shansi provenance came in 1965, when a bronze quadruped with identical ornamentation and of approximately the same size as the Freer example was unearthed in tomb 126, at Fen-shui-ling, Ch'ang-chih, Shansi Province.² However, a bronze human figure holding a shallow rimmed basket mounted on the back of the quadruped from Ch'ang-chih indicates that the piece actually did serve as a container. There is no indication that the Freer quadruped ever supported such a figure or that it was meant to be used for any related function.

The problems inherent in dating objects found in tombs are clearly demonstrated by the quadruped unearthed in 1965 in a tomb at Lien-shui, Kiangsu Province.³ The tomb itself and a number of Han dynasty metal coins found there clearly establish that the tomb dates from the Western Han dynasty. The quad-

ruped, however, is closely related to the Freer example unearthed at Fen-shui-ling. The elaborate gold and silver designs ornamenting the surface of the Lien-shui quadruped are akin to those associated with objects said to have come from the late Eastern Chou tombs at Chin-ts'un, Honan Province. This relationship was recognized in the report on the finds at Lien-shui. After suggesting that the quadruped might have been made by a Western Han artisan who perpetuated Warring States motifs, the report also raises the possibility that the piece might actually have been made during the Warring States period and preserved for some time as an heirloom until it was interred in the Western Han tomb.

1. For a discussion of the quadruped, see *Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 60-61, pl. 32.
2. *WW*, no. 4 (1972): 38-46, pl. 1. Another bronze quadruped, slightly different from the Fen-shui-ling and Freer examples, but supporting a funnel-shaped container on its back, was found in tomb 1 at Shan-piao-chen, Honan Province (see *SPCLLK*, pl. 18).
3. *KK*, no. 2 (1973): 80-87, 89, pl. X:1.

37 Bronze acrobat
Early Warring States period, 5th
century B.C.
Height 16.4 cm (6½ in)
51.7

The acrobat stands with his right knee bent, left arm raised, and head turned to one side. The right arm supports a socketed pole on top of which a bear is balancing. The summary modeling of the human figure, somewhat relieved by the incised linear decoration on the tunic and slightly more plastic handling of the sword fastened with a belt at the back, contrasts with the sensitive articulation of the small bear curved precariously at the top of the pole. The vivid animation of the bear reflects the Chinese preoccupation with animal sculpture from earliest times, while the ungainly stance of the acrobat betrays a still undeveloped ability to depict the human figure.¹

Related figural sculpture is limited. A bronze lamp from the Chung-shan Kuo tombs at P'ing-shan, Hopei Province, consisting of a bronze male figure with a silver head is the most recent example to be found.² A pair of bronze wrestlers formerly in the Malcolm collection are of approximately the same size as the Freer acrobat and have a corresponding generalized handling of physical details.³ The series of bronze figures said to have been found at Chin-ts'un, near Loyang, Honan Province, should also be mentioned.⁴

Two small bronze posts fitted with square sockets and topped with coiled animals are reputed to have come from Chin-ts'un.⁵ Presumably, they originally were part of an acrobatic sculpture similar to that in the Freer collection. Another post of this type is in the Singer collection.⁶ Yet another example is described in catalogue number 13.

1. For a discussion of the acrobat, see Trousdale, "The Bear Tamer," 3:30-31.

2. *Treasures*, pl. 41.

3. Sickman and Soper, *The Art and Architecture of China*, pl. 8a. A variation on the bronze wrestlers is provided by the group of three small-scale figures from the Western Han tomb at Erh-li-tun, Lien-shui, Kiangsu Province (*KK*, no. 2 [1973]: pl. 11:2).

4. White, *Tombs*, pls. LXXVI-LXXXIII. The kneeling figure in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery and Atkins Museum of Fine Arts, Kansas City, Mo., and the boy holding jade birds in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, are traditionally said to be from Chin-ts'un (see Mizuno, *BEJ*, pls. 13, 156).

5. White, *Tombs*, pp. 167-68, pl. LXIX.

6. Loehr, *Relics*, pl. 112.

Bronze Mirrors

Chinese bronze mirrors are usually, although not invariably, thin discs with polished reflecting surfaces on the face and decorations cast in relief on the back. There were some variations in the way early bronze mirrors were supported. On most mirrors a slender fluted loop or pierced hemispherical knob at the center of the back would have been fitted with a cord so as to hold the piece when in use. Circular double-plated mirrors dating from the Warring States period sometimes were cast without a central knob but with three rings attached at the outer edges.¹ The mirror found at Lien-shui, Kiangsu Province, was unearthed together with a bronze deer,² and it has been suggested that the mirror might have been suspended from the antlers of the deer by two of the rings; a jade pendant hangs from the third ring. Another type of mirror, found in a tomb at Shih-erh-t'ai, Chao-yang Hsien, Liaoning Province, has three wider suspension loops placed off center near the outer edge.³ Similar mirrors have been found in Japan and Korea, suggesting that the Liaoning piece may have served as a prototype.⁴ The loops on four

siderable discussion.⁶ Some scholars identified the disc as a mirror; others were less certain. As a result, the question of whether bronze mirrors were used in China as early as the Shang dynasty remained unresolved until 1977, when reports of the excavation of tomb 5 at Anyang first appeared.⁷ Four metal discs decorated with simple geometric designs and fitted with bold curved handles have been identified as mirrors, lending support to those scholars who advocated a Shang date for the introduction of bronze mirrors.

Support for an even earlier introduction of bronze mirrors came with the publication of a small (9 cm diameter) mirror unearthed in Kuei-nan Hsien, Ch'ing-hai Province.⁸ According to the archaeological report,⁹ the mirror was found on the chest of the deceased in tomb 25. The face of the flat mirror is decorated with a seven-pointed star and diagonal lines. The pierced, hemispherical knob at the center of the mirror was broken, and the two holes at the edge of the mirror presumably were meant for use in holding or suspending it. Since, according to the report, the mirror was

Bronze mirror from Lin-tzu, Shantung Province (after *Hsin Chung-kuo ch'u-t'u wen-wu*, pl. 76).

other mirrors from tombs at the same site in Liaoning are placed at regular intervals around the outer edges.⁵

Until quite recently, there was great uncertainty about when bronze mirrors were first used in China. Among the objects found at Hou-chia-chuang, near Anyang, Honan Province, in 1934, was a small bronze disc fitted with a loop handle and embellished with simple linear patterns. The original purpose of the bronze disc was the subject of con-

Drawings of bronze mirrors from tomb 5 at Anyang, Honan Province (after *Fu-hao*, p. 104).

found in the context of the Ch'i-chia culture, a date slightly before 2000 B.C. would be possible.

Prior to the recent archaeological publications, three bronze mirrors from the Eastern Chou tombs at Shang-ts'un-ling, Honan Province, excavated in 1959, had been regarded as the earliest bronze mirrors.¹⁰ Two of those mirrors are undecorated; the remaining one is ornamented with awkward relief representations of two tigers, a deer, and a bird. All

three mirrors are small, the largest measuring 6.7 centimeters in diameter. According to the Chinese archaeological report, the mirrors date from the eighth to seventh centuries B.C.

These early mirrors are primitive in their decoration, which is in sharp contrast to the sophistication of motifs on contemporary bronze ritual vessels. As a result, some scholars have questioned whether they actually were made in China.

In contrast to the paucity of bronze mirrors dating from the Shang and early Eastern Chou, large numbers dating from the Warring States period have been found. Like the earlier examples, they usually are round and small. Unlike earlier examples, Warring States bronze mirrors are thinly cast, and their cast decoration reflects the elegance that is characteristic of other artifacts of the period.¹¹

Among the earliest of the Warring States decorated bronze mirrors are those with small fluted loops, raised rims, and

riod were replaced by pierced hemispherical knobs during the Han dynasty.

Although some attempts have been made to associate specific decorative motifs with particular geographical locations, archaeological evidence indicates that the production of mirrors occurred over large areas of China in the Warring States period. One of the questions raised by recent archaeological investigations is the paucity of bronze mirrors among the lavish bronze objects in tombs from Shou-chou, Anhui Province, in the state of Ch'u. This is especially surprising since Shou-chou has always been regarded as one of the most important centers for the production of Warring States bronze mirrors.

A number of late Warring States bronze mirrors are decorated with metal inlay patterns; some are painted with lacquer. None of the mirrors dated to the Warring States period, or earlier, are inscribed; the earliest inscriptions appear on mirrors dating from the Western Han.

Rubbing of bronze mirror from Shang-ts'un-ling, Honan Province (after *STLK*, p. 27).

a central area decorated with cast feather-curl or cloud motifs. Those motifs are applied as an overall surface pattern, without concern for the specific size of the area on which they appear; the mold marks of individual segments are clearly visible.

In the subsequent stylistic development, bronze artisans superimposed a series of increasingly more complex designs on top of the surface patterns. The earliest of the superimposed designs include trapezoidal and leaf- and mountain-shaped motifs. Innovations of the late Warring States period include curling dragons and animal motifs. These sensuous and elegant motifs continued into the Western Han dynasty. The characteristically fluted loops of the Warring States pe-

Notes

1. *KK*, no. 2 (1973): pl. 2:1, for an example found at Lien-shui, Kiangsu Province; *Hsin Chung-kuo ch'u-t'u wen-wu*, pl. 76, for another example unearthed at Lin-tzu, Shantung Province.
2. *KK*, no. 2 (1973): 84-85.
3. *KKHP*, no. 1 (1960): 70, pl. VI:2.
4. Higuchi, *Kokyō*, 1:75-81, 2: colorpl. 3, pls. 116-19.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 66, 69, fig. 4:1, pl. IV:2.
6. Kao Ch'ü-hsün "Yin-tai ti i-mien t'ung-ching chi ch'i hsiang-kuan chih wen-t'i," pp. 685-721, pl. II; Umehara, "Chūgoku In Shū no kokyō," pp. 475-79; *KKHP* 7 (1954): 25, pl. 15.
7. *KKHP*, no. 2 (1977): 57-98, mirrors described, p. 72, illustrated, pl. 12.
8. Ch'ing-hai sheng wen-wu kuan-li-chū k'ao-ku-tui, *Wen-wu k'ao-ku kung-tso san-shih nien* (Peking, 1979), pp. 160-67, pl. 14:3.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 162 (see also Li Hu-hou, "Ch'i-chia wen-hua t'ung-ching ti fei-p'o-p'ei chien-ting," *KK*, no. 4 [1980]: 365-68).
10. Lin Shou-chin, *Shang-ts'un-ling Kuo-kuo mu-ti* (Peking, 1959), pl. 27.
11. Doris Dohrenwend, "The Early Chinese Mirror," pp. 78-98, discusses a number of important early mirrors, including a group of square, double-plated examples. She reexamines and proposes important revisions to the chronological and stylistic sequences proposed by Bernhard Karlgren in his article, "Huai and Han."

38 Bronze mirror
Warring States period, 5th–early 4th
centuries B.C.
Diameter 19.5 cm (7¹¹/₁₆ in)
36.3

The mirror is constructed of two circular sections. The reverse section, cast with a pierced hemispherical boss, has a raised rim with beveled edge on its front side; the face, or reflecting surface of the mirror, is carefully fitted within that space. The face and back have been broken; approximately one half of the face remains in place. The broken surface is heavily encrusted with malachite and some azurite patination. Small mineralized fragments of the silk in which the mirror was wrapped when buried still adhere to the surface.

During the Eastern Chou period, two-ply mirrors were made both in round and square formats. The chronological and stylistic relationships between two-ply mirrors and those cast as a single piece have been discussed by Doris Dohrenwend.¹

The reverse of the Freer mirror is decorated with an elaborate inlay design in which gold and silver are combined and contrasted to achieve an impressive variety. Six dragons alternately inlaid with two distinct types of gold and silver scale motifs are symmetrically intertwined in the main field of decoration. Three of the dragons have short broad scales of gold separated by threads of silver, and their golden heads face the outer rim. The other three dragons have elongated silver scales separated by

Drawing of reverse of cat. no. 38

Drawing of bronze tripod from Western Han tomb at Lien-shui, Kiangsu Province (after KK, no. 2 [1973]: 82).

gold threads, and their silver heads, in profile, face the center. An unusual feature is the way in which each dragon leg is presented as if seen from above. Three gold discs outlined in silver accent the points at which the bodies of the dragons overlap. Those discs are aligned to form an equilateral triangle with the three gold discs that appear on the outermost border of the mirror. Two silver discs are evenly spaced between each of the three gold discs on the border. In the intervals between the nine gold and silver discs are a gold and silver inlay pattern of volutes and triangles.

Similar inlay designs appear on a covered bronze tripod said to have been unearthed at Chin-ts'un, near Loyang, Honan Province.² On the lid of that tripod are three pairs of adorsed dragons with legs treated in

the same way as on the Freer mirror. Those legs, however, are rendered as a unit distinct from the body of the dragon. The band of inlay volutes and triangles on the rim of the body of the tripod is closely related to those on the Freer mirror. Another bronze tripod, with an inlaid inter-twined dragon motif more closely related to that on the Freer mirror, was unearthed in 1965 in an archaeological site at Lien-shui, Kiangsu Province.³

In his discussion of the Freer mirror, Umehara Sueji notes that it was found in broken condition and subsequently repaired. He infers that the mirror came from the Warring States tombs at Chin-ts'un.⁴ The mirror, however, does not appear in William Charles White's *Tombs of Old Loyang*, and no further evidence supports such a provenance. Under the circumstances, neither the omission

by White nor the inclusion by Umehara is decisive. When the mirror is considered on the basis of its decoration and in comparison with the two bronze ting already mentioned, a fifth to early fourth century B.C. date seems reasonable, whether or not it actually came from Chin-ts'un.

1. Dohrenwend, "The Early Chinese Mirror," pp. 79-98.

2. *Pillsbury Bronzes*, p. 129, pls. 66-67.

3. KK, no. 2 (1973): 82, fig. 3.

4. Umehara, *Rakuyō*, pp. 33-34. In an earlier study, *Ōbei shūcho Shina kodō seika*, Umehara assigned the Freer mirror to the late Han dynasty. For a description of the mirror, see *Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 68-69, pl. 37; Umehara, "Some Ancient Chinese Mirrors with Rich Ornaments," *Yamato bunka*, no. 14 (June 1954): pl. VIA.

39 Bronze mirror
Warring States period, 4th–3d
century B.C.
Diameter 16.4 cm (6½ in)
41.1

A slender ribbed loop in the center of the mirror is framed by a plain concave everted rim on the outer edge of the mirror encloses the wide, decorated field of striped curls, featherlike volutes, and granules. Five large stylized birds with plain bodies executed in thread relief are superimposed on the ground.

The Freer mirror is said to have been unearthed in 1937 at Ch'ang-sha, Hunan Province.¹ While at variance with the traditional Shou-chou, Anhui Province, attribution frequently assigned to such pieces, that provenance is supported by more re-

cent excavations. In his recent study Higuchi Takayasu provides a convenient list of related mirrors that were unearthed in the People's Republic of China from sites in Hunan and Hupei provinces.²

An earlier suggestion for the manufacture of mirrors in north China during the Warring States period was provided by eight clay molds said to have been found together at I Hsien, Hopei Province, near the site of Hsia-tu, capital of the state of Yen.³ Sekino Takeshi unearthed a clay mold for a Western Han type mirror at the site of Lin-tzu, Ch'i capital during the Warring States period.⁴

Bernhard Karlgren discusses mirrors of this type in his category C and includes an example that is similar to the Freer piece.⁵

1. For information about that provenance and a further discussion of the mirror, see *Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 65–66, pl. 36.

2. Higuchi, *Kokyō*, pp. 58–59.

3. The molds were published by Liang Shang-ch'un in *Yen-k'ü tsang-ching, chuan 1* (Peking, 1941–42), pp. 7a–8b, pls. 13–15, supp., pp. 5a–7b, pls. 8–12.

4. Sekino, *Chūgoku*, pp. 273, pl. VIII.

5. "Huai and Han," p. 51, pl. 23, C74.

40 Bronze mirror
Late Warring States period, 3d
century B.C.
Diameter 11.7 cm (4 $\frac{5}{8}$ in)
74.120

The back of the round mirror has a small fluted knob placed at the center of a polished concave square band. Encircling the outer rim of the mirror is another concave band. These bands frame a field decorated with an intricate feather-and-curl pattern enriched by stripes and granules. As is frequently the case with bronze mirrors of this type, two leaf-shaped forms are diagonally aligned with the corners of the central square. Placed against the background are four slanted bold mountain-shaped (*shan-tzu hsing*) motifs whose surfaces are also concave. The butt end of each of these motifs is parallel to one side of

the central square. This arrangement, which stabilizes the entire composition, contrasts with the visual restlessness characteristic of those mirrors on which the butt ends of the mountain-shaped motifs are placed at an angle to the corners of the central square.¹ The surface of the mirror has some areas of heavy incrustation.

Mirrors of this type usually are decorated with four mountain-shaped motifs, although there are examples with as few as three and as many as six. Examples with three motifs appear to be the rarest. On those mirrors with three, five, or six motifs, the central knob usually is set within a circular field, probably because it provided a more satisfying aesthetic arrangement.

Higuchi Takayasu provides a list of published examples of mirrors of this type; most of the excavated mirrors

Rubbings of bronze mirrors unearthed at Ch'ang-te, Hunan Province (after *KK*, no. 9 [1963]: 473).

were found at Ch'ang-sha, Hunan Province, although other examples were unearthed at Ch'eng-tu, Szechwan Province, Kuangchou, Kwangtung Province, and Sian, Shensi Province.³ Support for the manufacture of mirrors with mountain-shaped motifs in north China came in 1941–43, when Liang Shang-ch'un published a group of eight clay molds of mirrors said to have been found together at I Hsien, Hopei Province, near the site of Hsia-tu, capital of the state of Yen.³

2. Higuchi, *Kokyō*, pp. 54–56.

3. Liang Shang-ch'un, *Yen-k'u tsang-ching, chüan 1* (Peking, 1941–42), pp. 7a–8b, pls. 13–15, supp., pp. 5a–7b, pls. 8–12. Li Hsüeh-ch'in refers to the mirror molds found at I Hsien and published by Liang Shang-ch'un. He also notes that few bronze mirrors are recorded as having been unearthed in the area of Yen territory. Li Hsüeh-ch'in, however, describes a mirror in the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco that duplicates the design of the mold reproduced in pl. 15 of Liang Shun-ch'un's study. According to Li Hsüeh-ch'in, the mirror in San Francisco might have been cast in the state of Yen ("Lun Mei Ou shou-ts'ang ti chi-chien Shang Chou wen-wu," *WW*, no. 12 [1979]: 75).

1. Bernhard Karlgren, "Huai and Han," pls. 14:C34–35, 15:C41; idem, "Some Pre-Han Mirrors," pl. 3:a, c. On some versions of this type of mirror the four mountain-shaped motifs are arranged as if balanced atop the points of the central boss (see *KK*, no. 9 [1963]: 473, fig. 22:1).

41 Bronze mirror
Late Warring States period, 3d
century B.C.
Diameter 23.3 cm (9³/₁₆ in)
35.14

A fluted knob set within a double-ringed disk at the center of the mirror is surrounded by a band with a ground pattern of spirals and triangles. A narrow twisted rope band separates the central area from a wider concave band framed by striated diagonal rings. On the outer edge of the mirror an everted band with a striated diagonal ring encloses the main field of decoration. Curving dragon bands superimposed over a grid of spirals and triangles are the main focal point of the decoration. Only the highly stylized dragon heads remain to identify the motifs, which have become almost completely ab-

stract. Four outlined teardrop motifs indicate the confines of the individual dragons.¹

Bernhard Karlgren assigns mirrors of this type to category E.² Among the mirrors Karlgren used to illustrate his articles, it is possible to trace the decoration on this group from the curvilinear forms³ to those that are more angular and appear to be almost completely abstract.⁴ On some examples the motifs that appear as teardrops on the Freer mirror are rendered as symmetrical foliate trees.⁵

Subtle contrasts in the widths of the decorative bands on the reverse of this mirror are typical of the late Warring States period. Similar examples have been found in Western Han tombs.⁶ Those mirrors were heirlooms or may have been of a type that continued to be made after the Warring States period.

Higuchi Takayasu provides a list of related bronze mirrors. Most of those from Chinese archaeological excavations included in Higuchi's list were found in Hunan Province, although some were unearthed in Honan, Hupei, Kiangsu, Kwangtung, Shantung, and Szechwan provinces.⁷

1. The mirror has been discussed by John A. Pope (see *Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 66-67, pl. 36).

2. Karlgren, "Huai and Han," pp. 1-125; *idem.*, "Some Pre-Han Mirrors," pp. 161-69.

3. Karlgren "Huai and Han," pl. 39:E1.

4. *Ibid.*, pl. 46:E30.

5. *Ibid.*, pl. 40:E5-8.

6. *Ch'ang-sha*, pl. 43:1.

7. Higuchi, *Kokyō*, pp. 64-66.

Bronze Garment Hooks

Archaeological finds continue to yield a wide variety of garment hooks. Documentation of the burials in which the hooks are found, as given in Chinese archaeological reports, enables scholars to reevaluate traditional theories about the introduction of such hooks into China and reexamine the provisional dates assigned to those hooks brought to light under unauthorized circumstances.

Apparently, the earliest reference to a garment hook in a Chinese text occurs in the *Chün-yü* section of the *Kuo-yü* (*Conversations from the States*), a work generally dated to the third century B.C.¹ Attempts to arrive at a tentative date for the beginning of the use of the garment hook in China on the basis of traditional texts depend upon the interpretation of the character *kou*, or "hook," as it appears in that passage.²

If the third-century annotation is correct and a garment hook was involved, it is noteworthy that Duke Huan (r. 685–643 B.C.) wore it while in battle, which raises the possibility that it might have been of the type worn by nomadic mounted tribesmen. Foreign origin of the garment hook is likely, since other Chinese texts, such as the *Shih-chi* (*Records of the Grand Historian*) and *Chau-kuo ts'ü* (*Intrigues of the Warring States*) refer to them as *shih-pi*, *hsien-pi*, and *hsi-pi*, terms that obviously are attempts to reproduce the sounds of non-Chinese words.³

Another historical episode frequently mentioned to support the introduction of the garment hook from outside China concerns King Wu-ling (r. 325–299 B.C.), ruler of the state of Chao located in the area now included in modern Shansi and western Hopei provinces. His many contacts with the nomads who frequented the northern borders of China made King Wu-ling realize the value of developing a mobile cavalry to prevent incursions by foreign tribes from the north. In spite of the resistance of his people, in 307 B.C., the king decreed that his troops should adopt the more practical nomadic costume.⁴

More tangible support of an early date for the use of garment hooks in China is provided by recent archaeological finds in the People's Republic of China. A brief discussion of excavations at Hou-ma, Shansi Province (which has been identified as Hsin-t'ien, the last capital of Chin), mentions two bronze garment hooks found in tombs assigned to the Spring and Autumn period.⁵ Some two hundred and sixty Eastern Chou burials unearthed at Chung-chou-lu, Honan Province, during 1954–55 have been arranged into seven consecutive chronological periods. A number of garment hooks were found in burials dated to the middle (circa 670–570 B.C.) and late (circa 570–470 B.C.) Spring and Autumn period.⁶

The earliest garment hooks from Chung-chou-lu, assigned to the seventh to sixth centuries B.C., are small, with simple but elegantly shaped forms. The hooks themselves are undecorated, but the front surfaces are sometimes ornamented with whorl patterns.⁷ According to the Chung-chou-lu archaeological report,⁸ most hooks of the early type were found beside the skull of the deceased, while later types were placed near the waist. On the basis of available evidence, the authors of the report conclude that the use of the early hooks differed from that of the later ones. The precise function of the different kinds of hooks has yet to be resolved.

If the garment hooks from Hou-ma and Chung-chou-lu do indeed date as early as the seventh to sixth centuries B.C., they provide valuable guides by which to arrange other, less firmly datable examples. The small, simple hooks and austere ornamentation of the Hou-ma and Chung-chou-lu examples are compatible with an early date. In addition, their elegance indicates that they probably are of Chinese manufacture. By contrast, the crudely articulated tigers found on one group of garment hooks assigned variously from the seventh to the sixth centuries B.C. reflect a less convincingly Chinese aesthetic.⁹

The basic study of Chinese garment hooks is the work of the Japanese scholar Nagahiro Toshio. His book *Taikō no kenkyū*, published in 1943, is an essential compendium of

Drawing of bronze lamp from Shang-tsun-ling, Honan Province (after H'W', no. 3 [1976]: 54).

textual references to garment hooks in early Chinese texts and different types of garment hooks. His stylistic analyses and chronological sequences are based upon essentially formal considerations.

At the time Nagahiro wrote, relatively few garment hooks could be assigned to specific geographical sites. For Warring States examples, he relied upon the finds at Shou-chou, Anhui Province; Li-yü, Shansi Province; and Chin-ts'un, near Loyang, Honan Province. The Lo-lang excavation in Korea furnished examples of Han dynasty garment hooks.

Almost twenty years later, in 1962, a short essay on garment hooks by Nagahiro appeared in *Sekai bijutsu zenshū*.¹⁰ In that essay he drew upon the new material provided by archaeological finds in the People's Republic of China and proposed a general chronological sequence for Chinese garment hooks. For the Warring States period—Nagahiro does not refer to Spring and Autumn examples—he identifies the small (circa 5 cm long) garment hooks, symmetrical in shape and with finely cast decor, as the earliest (400–350 B.C.) type. Nagahiro refers to garment hooks found at Ch'ang-sha, Hunan Province, as representing a southern (Ch'u) style dating from the early period. He pinpoints the climax for the production of garment hooks as occurring around 300 B.C.

To the splendid garment hooks already known from Chin-ts'un, Nagahiro adds the large (22.4 cm long) iron garment hooks inlaid with jade, found at Hsin-yang, Honan Province. Those lavishly fitted hooks are dated by him circa 300–250 B.C. A year after Nagahiro published his essay in *Sekai bijutsu zenshū*, an extraordinarily large (46.2 cm long) iron garment hook was unearthed in tomb 1, again from Ch'u territory, at Wang-shan, Chiang-ling, Hupei Province.¹¹ Both

surfaces of that hook are inlaid with elaborate gold ornamentation. Pieces of such extravagant size, which usually are associated with the state of Ch'u, cannot have been meant for practical use but, more likely, were examples of ostentatious luxury items, perhaps awarded in recognition of merit.

Characteristic of the Chinese garment hooks of the fourth century B.C., according to Nagahiro, is the inventiveness of shapes and technical finish. Rich inlays of jade and glass, with gilded surfaces, reflect the Chou artisan's concern for coloristic effects. In Nagahiro's view, during the Han dynasty realism became more dominant, transforming the highly stylized late Eastern Chou motifs into more rigid forms. By his use of gold, silver, jade, and glass the Han artisan tended to enrich the rigid surfaces without being as inventive as his counterparts from the Warring States period.

In 1966 Bernhard Karlgren published a long article on the Chinese garment hooks assembled in two Swedish collections.¹² The following year, W. T. Chase completed a master's thesis on the examples in the Freer collection.¹³ Those important studies balance formal and stylistic data and relevant archaeological information.

The most recent study of Chinese garment hooks is a catalogue of the 145 examples in the Osaka City Museum.¹⁴ A large portion of those garment hooks formerly were in the collection of Osvald Sirén, and most were included in Bernhard Karlgren's study of 1966. Appended in the Osaka catalogue is a chronological chart listing a comprehensive selection of garment hooks unearthed in the People's Republic of China. Basing the chronology on the substantial amount of new information provided in the archaeological chart, each garment hook in the Osaka City Museum collection is assigned a date. Since some types of garment hooks continued to be made over relatively long periods, it is difficult to assign individual examples to specific decades or, in some instances, to a particular century. That difficulty is reflected in some of the dates that appear in the Osaka catalogue. Nevertheless, they are carefully considered and based on a detailed analysis of an impressive quantity of original Chinese data, making the Osaka catalogue an invaluable reference work for anyone interested in questions relating to Chinese garment hooks.

The extraordinary range of sizes in Chinese garment hooks has raised a number of questions as to whether all of them actually were used to secure a belt. Perceval Yetts, writing in 1929, observed, "Certain of the small hooks, represented on these plates, were designed for the sword sling or other attachments to the belt."¹⁵

Later writers have advanced theories regarding how the

Drawing of bronze hook and remains of leather belt, from Ch'ang-sha, Hunan Province (after *Ch'ang-sha*, p. 50).

Drawings of bronze sword hooks
unearthed at Ch'ang-te, Hunan Province
(after *KK*, no. 9 [1963]: 469).

various hooks might have been used.¹⁶ A few plausible answers have been provided by recent archaeological finds. Several figurines from Warring States burials are shown wearing small hooks on belts at the waist.¹⁷ A specific type of garment hook depicting a human figure holding the hook portion of the piece, known in a fragmentary bronze example from a late Warring States tomb near Tientsin, Hopei Province,¹⁸ is also seen on one of the life-size pottery figures from the Ch'in dynasty pits near the imperial mausoleum at Lin-t'ung, Shensi Province.¹⁹ A few of those ceramic warriors wear small, simple hooks at their waists,²⁰ and a silk belt together with three bronze hooks found at Ch'ang-sha, Hunan Province, ancient Ch'u territory, provide an actual example of what is worn by the funerary figures. Perforations at both ends of the silk belt accommodated the button at the back of the hook and the curving portion at the end of the hook itself.²¹

On the basis of the circumstances of their placement in the tomb, a few hooks have been identified as supports for bronze swords. Four small (3.5 to 4 cm long) bronze hooks associated with bronze swords were found in tombs 24 and 51 at Ch'ang-te, Hunan Province.²² Another hook, similar in size and shape to those from Ch'ang-te and so identified as a sword hook in the archaeological report, was unearthed

in the Ch'u tomb 10 at P'ai-ma-shan, Chiang-ling, Hupei Province.²³ Those hooks, which incidentally belong to the culture of the state of Ch'u, presumably would have been worn with the hook downward rather than in the horizontal position of those attached to secure a belt.

Some other small metal hooks may also have been worn vertically on a belt to support small knives, pouches, or related personal paraphernalia. Evidence of extreme wear on some of those metal hooks makes it clear that they were subjected to heavy use. The way in which objects are carried at the waist of the bronze figurine in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, provides an example of how small hooks of this type might have been used.²⁴

A small (3.8 cm long) hook was found in tomb 1 at Kao-chuang, Feng-hsiang Hsien, Shensi Province, on the chest of the deceased. Its size and placement suggest that the hook was meant to join the lapels of a garment.²⁵ Another bronze hook, found in a similar position in a tomb at Hou-ma, Shansi Province,²⁶ and a jade example from a tomb in Hopei Province²⁷ may have served similar functions.

In other instances, as noted in the Chung-chou-lu report, hooks have been found near the head of the deceased and may have been part of an elaborate headdress. There is, however, no immediate explanation for the placement of a hook in the mouth of the deceased in a tomb in Kansu Province.²⁸

Drawing of bronze garment hook from
P'ai-ma-shan, Chiang-ling, Hupei Province
(after *KK*, no. 3 [1973]: 157).

A final point that should be considered in a discussion of Chinese garment hooks is that while it is unusual to find more than one or two examples in a single tomb, there are rare instances in which as many as six or seven were interred with a body. Based on archaeological information currently available, it would seem that the general practice of including a single hook in a tomb was followed throughout China, but that there were also some instances when larger quantities of hooks were amassed and buried with other funerary paraphernalia so as to enhance the prestige of the deceased.²⁹

Drawings of bronze garment hooks from Ch'in tomb, Kao-chuang, Feng-hsiang, Shensi Province (after K'ao-ku yü Wen-wu, no. 1 [1981]: 30).

Notes

1. The *Kuo-yü* has been closely associated with the *Tso-chuan*, and both works traditionally were said to have been compiled by Tso Ch'iu-ming since both deal with the same period and describe many of the same persons and events. Later scholars, however, are undecided about precisely when the *Kuo-yü* was compiled. For discussions of the text and its authorship, see Burton Watson, *Early Chinese Literature*, pp. 66-74; Hsu Cho-yun, *Ancient China in Transition*, pp. 185-86.

The episode in *chüan* 4 of the *Chin-yü* section of the *Kuo-yü* recounts the fluctuating fortunes of Ch'ung-erh, who later ruled as Duke Wen of Chin (r. 636-628 B.C.). On one occasion, Ch'ung-erh's father, Duke Hsien (r. 676-651 B.C.) of Chin ordered Po-ti to kill him. Although Po-ti succeeded in slicing off one of Ch'ung-erh's sleeves, the young man managed to escape unscathed. For the next twelve years Ch'ung-erh lived as an exile, returning to his native Chin only after the powerful ruler of Ch'in intervened and installed him as Duke Wen of Chin. When Po-ti requested an

audience with the new duke, Ch'ung-erh refused to see him. In an effort to explain his unsuccessful attempt to kill Ch'ung-erh, Po-ti recounted several examples of famous ministers who had been guided by the ancient maxim that when an officer receives a command from his ruler, he must carry it out regardless of the consequences. One of the examples cited by Po-ti concerned Duke Huan (r. 685-643 B.C.) of Ch'i, the state located in present-day Shantung Province. Once during a battle, Duke Huan narrowly escaped injury when an enemy arrow was deflected by his *kou* ("hook"). Later, Duke Huan forgave the man who had shot the arrow and made him his chief minister. As if to minimize what he had done and to obtain Ch'ung-erh's pardon, Po-ti argued that shooting an arrow was much more serious than slicing off a sleeve, and yet Duke Huan had been magnanimous enough to forgive his assailant.

This same story is recorded in the *Tso-chuan*, twenty-fourth year of the reign of Duke Hsi (r. 659-627 B.C.), Legge, *The Chinese*

Classics, 5: pt. 1, p. 191.

2. Wei Chao (A.D. 204–73) in his annotation of this passage from the *Kuo-yü* pointed out that the battle in which Duke Huan was hit by an arrow took place in the ninth year of the reign of Duke Chuang of Lu (685 B.C.). He also interprets the character *kou* as signifying a *tai-kou* (“belt-hook”). Admittedly, Wei Chao compiled his annotation hundreds of years after the event took place, but if his interpretation is correct it would support the theory that garment hooks were in use in China as early as the seventh century B.C.

3. Otto Maenchen-Helfen believed the Chinese terms were derived from *serbi* (or *sārbi*) and *kwāklāk*, Indo-European words for “hook” (see “Are Chinese *hsi-p’i* and *kuo-lo* IE Loan Words?” pp. 256–60).

4. *Shih-chi*, *Chao-shih-chia*, *chüan* 43. When King Wu-ling selected Chou Shao to serve as tutor to the heir apparent, he made a royal gift of a barbarian costume with cap, belt, and golden *shih-pi*. The story has been translated by Édouard Chavannes, *Les mémoires historiques of Se-ma Ts’ien*, 5:69–85. Lao Kan in “Chan-kuo shih-tai chan-cheng,” pp. 51–52, suggests earlier instances in which Chinese warriors rode astride.

5. *WW*, no. 6 (1959): chart, p. 49.

6. *Lo-yang*, pp. 128–30. Alternate dates have been proposed for the seven periods at Chung-chou-lu (see Rawson, “The Surface Decoration on Jades of the Chou and Han Dynasties,” p. 53, note 2, for a discussion of the different opinions).

7. *Ibid.*, fig. 71, pl. 80:1.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

9. For example, see Bunker et al., “*Animal Style*,” p. 116, fig. 83.

10. Nagahiro, in *Sekai bijutsu zenshū* (Tokyo, 1962), 12:178–81.

11. *WW*, no. 5 (1966): 48, top.

12. Karlgren, “*Agraffes*,” pp. 83–192.

13. Chase, “Chinese Belt-hooks in the Freer Gallery of Art.”

14. *Osaka shiritsu bijutsukan kiyō*; Nakano Tōru, “Chūgoku no taikō,” *Kobijutsu*, no. 61 (January 1982): 112–17.

15. Yetts, *The Catalogue of the George Eumorfopoulos Collection*, 2:65.

16. Osvold Sirén in 1929 remarked, “The small and short hooks, which are so common at this early time, seem to have served for the fastening of the sheath of the sword to the leather strap by which it was carried rather than for the belt itself.” He continued, “It is quite possible that some of them served for fastening other parts of the dress or of the military equipment as well as for the

belt. It is almost surprising to find how very popular these hooks became during the period here under discussion, and it would be embarrassing to explain their frequency, if they were never used for anything else than the belt” (*A History of Early Chinese Art*, 1:62–63).

Writing in 1937, Bernhard Karlgren stated, “The literature on Chinese bronzes generally speak of ‘belt-hooks.’ I am disinclined to accept this, for many of the larger hooks are hardly likely to have been used at the belt, being too heavy for such a position. It seems more reasonable to suppose that they were shoulder hooks. Yet, so long as we know so very little about the dress of the pre-Christian era, it is safer to use the neutral work ‘dress-hook’” (“New Studies on Chinese Bronzes,” p. 103, note 10).

In subsequent studies, Karlgren avoided the problem of finding the correct term for these hooks by always referring to them by the French word *agraffes* (“fasteners” or “clasps”).

For Alfred Salmony in 1933 “the actual implement became at times a ceremonial article of exaggerated size. As well as the practical purpose of such pieces there arises another use, that of the amulet or funerary object, as Pelliot has already mentioned. Etruscan art, an oriental phenomenon on European soil, was also familiar with immense fibulae never meant to be worn. In the hereafter, they probably stood for an idea of validity” (*Sino-Siberian Art in the Collection of C. T. Loo* [Paris, 1933], p. 51).

The Chinese scholar Ma Heng believed the uses of garment hooks varied with size. The smaller ones, he believed, served as belt hooks. The large ones may have been used by monks to support their garments (*Chung-kuo chin-shih-hsüeh kai-yao*, *Kuo-li Pei-ching ta-hsüeh chin-shih-hsüeh chuang-i*, chap. 3 [Peking, 1934], pp. 81–82).

Kao Ch’ü-hsün, writing in 1952, based his ideas on the various hooks he had seen in archaeological excavations. He noted that many garment hooks were placed not at the waist but sometimes at the head or feet. He tentatively decided that the hooks may have been used to hang objects, even though he acknowledged that nothing might be found hung near the hooks (Kao Ch’ü-hsün, “Chan-kuo mu-nei tai-kou yung-t’u ti t’ui-ts’c,” pp. 489–511).

The most recent comment about the use of early metal hooks in China and the terminology that should be assigned to them appears in an archaeological report discussing a group of Ch’in dynasty tombs at Feng-hsiang, Shensi Province (“Shan-hsi Feng-hsiang Kao-chuang Ch’in mu ti fa-chüeh chien-pao,” *K’ao-ku yü Wen-wu*, no. 1 [1981]: 29). In a brief note appended at the end of the discussion of the twenty-six hooks found in the tombs, the authors mention the term *tai-kou* (“belt hook”) that has been used to refer to all such hooks. The suggestion is then made that any hook measuring three centimeters or less should be referred to as *chin-kou* (“garment hook”).

17. Those figures, aside from the ones known for many years from examples associated with the Chin-ts’un finds (White, *Tombs*, pls. LXXV, LXXXVIII; Umehara, *Sengoku*, pl. CXXI), include the elaborately wrought bronze lamp in the form of a standing figure with

a silver head from the Chung-shan tombs in P'ing-shan Hsien, Hopei Province (H'W, no. 5 [1979]: 46, fig. 1), the bronze lamp with lacquer decoration supported by a kneeling figure from Shang-ts'un-ling, Honan Province (H'W, no. 3 [1976]: 54, fig. 4), and the bronze figure from Kao-mo-ts'un, Hopei Province (H'W, no. 2 [1965]: 43, fig. 1).

18. *KK*, no. 1 (1965): 15, fig. 6:3.

19. H'W, no. 11 (1975): 18, fig. 26:13.

20. *Great Bronze*, pp. 337, 369, fig. 126.

21. *Ch'u*, p. 12, no. 21.

22. *KK*, no. 9 (1963): 469, fig. 19:1-2.

23. *KK*, no. 3 (1973): 157, fig. 11:1.

24. Umehara, *Sengoku*, pl. CXX1.

25. H'W, no. 9 (1980): 13. Although the garment hook is not illustrated, it is described as having a hook in the shape of a duck's head with an extremely long bill.

26. H'W, no. 1 (1972): 64, fig. 5.

27. *Man-ch'eng*, 1:297, fig. 200:4.

28. *HWTKTL*, no. 7 (1955): 89.

29. Some archaeological reports include large numbers of garment hooks from a single site: *KKHP*, no. 6 (1953): 100, eleven hooks were found in nine tombs at Chia-ko-chuang, T'ang-shan-shih, Hopei Province, in the ancient territory of the state of Yen; *KKHP*, no. 8 (1954): 153-55, fig. 21, eleven hooks were unearthed in as many Warring States period graves in the vicinity of Shao-kou, Loyang, Honan Province; *KKHP*, no. 3 (1957): 82-83, chart 5, fig. 16, nineteen hooks were found distributed in eighteen different tombs; *KK*, no. 2 (1962): 613, in a discussion of fifty-nine Warring States tombs from Pai-chia-ts'un, near Hsin-tan, capital of the state of Chao during the Warring States period, the editors of the archaeological report state that sixty garment hooks were found in twenty-six tombs. There were usually only one or two hooks in a single tomb, but some had as many as six or seven; *KK*, no. 3 (1964): 132-33, fig. 24, fourteen bronze hooks from eight tombs were found at Fen-shui-ling, Ch'ang-chih, Shansi Province, four iron garment hooks, all in damaged condition, were unearthed at the same site; *K'ao-ku yü Wen-wu*, no. 1 (1981): 29-30, fig. 19, twenty-two hooks were recovered from seventeen Ch'in period burials at Kao-chuang, Feng-hsiang, Shensi Province.

- 42 Bronze garment hook
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Length 13.2 cm ($5\frac{3}{16}$ in); width 1.4
cm ($\frac{9}{16}$ in)
11.85

The broad, thick body and angular hook bespeak a frankly utilitarian purpose. Two longitudinal ribs, rising from concave facets, provide suitably simple yet robust decoration for an object made for long and hard use. A small plain circular button projects from the wider end of the back surface. A seam bisecting the surface of the button and continuing along both sides of the supporting post and onto the back of the garment hook marks the point at which the piece molds were joined at the time the hook was cast. Some garment hook piece molds were unearthed at Hou-ma, Shansi Province.¹ An excellent example of

another type of piece mold for garment hooks is in the collection of the Archaeological Institute of Kyoto National University.²

Bernhard Karlgren includes several related garment hooks in his study of two Swedish collections.³

1. KK, no. 5 (1959): 224. The piece molds for the garment hooks are mentioned but not illustrated.

2. Nagahiro, *Taikō no kenkyū*, pl. XLIX.

3. Karlgren, "Agraffes," pls. 30–31.

- 43 Bronze garment hook
Late Spring and Autumn–early Warring States periods, 5th century B.C.
Length 3.2 cm ($1\frac{1}{4}$ in); width 0.6 cm ($\frac{1}{4}$ in)
15.196

Simplicity of shape and lack of ornamentation support an early date for

this small garment hook. A clearly defined ridge running horizontally along the front and back surfaces of the hook, bisecting the oval projecting hook—another indication of an early date—reveals the joining of the piece molds.

This garment hook provides an excellent example of the earliest type made in China, when the formation of the shape was guided by purely functional concerns and the proportions were intended to insure long use. That concern for simplicity and utility endows the garment hook with an impressive elegance.

Several related hooks have been found in archaeological excavations dated to the latter part of the Spring and Autumn and beginning of the Warring States periods.¹

1. *Osaka shiritsu bijutsukan kiyō*, pp. 60, 62, nos. 14, 22.

- 44 Two Bronze garment hooks
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Length 11.6 cm ($4\frac{5}{8}$ in); width 1.7
cm ($\frac{2}{3}$ in)
16.207–8

Equally spaced tripart fluting forms the main decoration on the faces of both garment hooks. Simple horizontal bands separate the fluting from the curved hook and stylized animal mask at either end of each piece. The surface gilding is largely covered with a gray green patina. The round buttons on the backs of the garment hooks are positioned well toward the wider ends of the pieces.

A number of variations on this type of garment hook, which must have been extremely popular, are known from archaeological excavations. One of the most common types has animal masks placed at either end of the hook.¹

1. "Lo-yang Shao-kou fu-chin Chan-kuo mu-tsang," *KKHP*, no. 8 (1954): fig. 21:11, pl. VII:10; *Cheng-chou*, pl. 26:15, Karlgren, "Agraffes," pls. 52–53.
- 45 Bronze garment hook
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Length 20.7 cm ($8\frac{1}{8}$ in)
16.254

Three distinctly concave longitudinal planes separate the upper surface of the heavily proportioned garment hook. An elaborate gold inlay design, based on stylized curvilinear forms and applied with minimum regard for the concave planes, embellishes the upper surface. A plain circular button projects from the wider end of the garment hook. Traces of textile impressions are preserved in the corroded surface, particularly around the

curved hook and protruding button.

Examples with comparably heavy proportions, inlaid floral designs, and plain circular buttons placed at the wider end of the garment hook have been unearthed together with related artifacts datable to the Warring States period.¹

1. "Shan-hsi Ch'ang-chih Fen-shui-ling Chan-kuo mu," *KK*, no. 3 (1964): figs. 24:1, 4, pls. 5:13, 20. Another example, lacking archaeological data, is reproduced in Karlgren, "Agraffes," pl. 18:D2. Naga-hiro Toshio includes yet another related specimen in *Taikō no kenkyū*, pl. 1:164.

Drawing of bronze garment hook from Chung-chou-lu, Honan Province (after Lo-yang, fig. 71:5).

- 46 Bronze garment hook
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Length 11.4 cm (4½ in); width 2.1
cm (13/16 in)
16.203

The upper surface of the sturdily wrought garment hook is separated by three distinctly faceted planes that extend longitudinally from the rounded end to the curved hook itself. Silver wire and turquoise pieces are inset into a cast intaglio geometric design based on elongated diamonds and rectangles. Small curls occurring at regular intervals in the design provide subtle visual accents. Portions of the silver and turquoise inlay are missing. The relationship between the faceted planes and inlay decoration remains tentative, lacking the neat integration of shape and design characteristic of later examples. A small circular button projecting from the

back of the garment hook is set into a large oval cavity, perhaps to accommodate a heavy leather strap or belt. Similar treatment of a button occurs on a bronze hook found in a late Spring and Autumn–early Warring States tomb in Liaoning Province.¹

A garment hook of similarly sturdy proportions and with a virtually identical inlay design on the upper surface was unearthed from tomb 1709 at Chung-chou-lu, near Loyang, Honan Province.²

1. "Liao-ning Ko-tso Nan-tung-kou shih-kuo mu," *KK*, no. 6 (1977): fig. 3:4.
2. *Lo-yang*, fig. 71:5.

- 47 Bronze garment hook
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Length 15.6 cm (6⅛ in); width 1.6
cm (5/8 in)
16.212

Three clearly demarcated facets longitudinally separate the upper surface of the sturdily proportioned garment hook. An inlay gold design of curving lines and circles within an overall diamond grid, surprisingly delicate for such a heavily fashioned object, ornaments the faceted surfaces. A break near the center of the piece has been repaired. Portions of the bronze surface are heavily corroded, especially on the curved hook and circular button projecting from the back, where a fabric pattern is clearly preserved. It is uncertain whether the fabric constituted the original belt or was the material in which the hook was wrapped at the time of burial.

48 Bronze garment hook
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Length 24.4 cm. (9⁵/₈ in)
16.442

Along its length, the surface of the garment hook is separated into three narrow facets. Inlaid hemispherical turquoise dots serve as accents for the gold diamond patterns that cover most of the surface. Gold curvilinear motifs ending in foliate curls also radiate from the turquoise dots. Horizontal bands of darkened silver inlay passing beneath the gold bands at regular intervals introduce a contrasting interlace effect. The inlay along the central plane is turquoise; malachite is used on the beveled areas at either side. The combination of analogously toned materials lends a rich variation to the design. Although some inlay is missing, the total composition is clearly visible.

Drawing of bronze garment hook from
Erh-li-kang, Cheng-chou, Honan Prov-
ince (after *Cheng-chou*, pl. 40:9).

The small hook in the the shape of an animal head at the end of the piece is inlaid with gold.

A circular button on the back surface is inlaid with simple gold curls. The button is placed far to one end of the piece, with a small loop at approximately the same position on the opposite end.

Related garment hooks have been unearthed in Warring States period tombs in the Loyang area.¹

1. *KKHP*, no. 8 (1954): 154:9, pl. 7:9; *Loyang*, p. 104, fig. 71:5; and at Erh-li-kang, *Cheng-chou*, pls. 26:5, 40:9

- 49 Bronze garment hook
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Length 19.7 cm (7¾ in)
49.25

The surface of the slender rounded garment hook is decorated with an imbricated pattern of turquoise inlaid within precisely curved gold cloisons. Narrow gold bands separate the hook into five longitudinal sections. The edges of these bands are accentuated by black outlines that also serve to emphasize their symmetrical curvilinear projections and provide a contrast to the more delicate gold cloisons. A small monster mask, now heavily restored, discreetly completes the shape of the garment hook. A small concave button projects from the center of the back. The total visual effect of this handsome garment hook suggests the sleek elegance of an evenly scaled serpent.

Related garment hooks are associated with the finds at Chin-ts'un, near Loyang, Honan Province.¹ An example in the Singer collection has also been given a tentative Chin-ts'un provenance.²

1. White, *Tombs*, pl. LVI:135; Umehara, *Rakuyō*, pls. LXIX–LXX.

2. Lochr, *Relics*, p. 105, no. 88.

- 50 Bronze garment hook
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Length 21.2 cm (8 $\frac{5}{16}$ in)
48.27

The gold hook is realistically modeled in the shape of a horned dragon's head. A tear-shaped piece of turquoise is set into the forehead. Extending below the hook is a relief design of intertwined gold dragons. The main body of the rounded garment hook is covered with geometric gold patterns that combine rectangular forms and stylized accents to suggest fantastic animals. The interstices are filled with curved turquoise chips of irregular shape. The back is lined with silver. The button in the center of the underside is heavily corroded.

William Charles White includes a similar garment hook among the artifacts said to have been unearthed at Chin-ts'un, near Loyang, Honan

Province.¹ Other similar garment hooks are in Western collections.²

1. White, *Tombs*, pl. LVI:136.

2. Visser, *Asiatic Art in Private Collections of Holland and Belgium*, pl. 43, no. 60; Loehr, *Relics*, p. 105, no. 88.

51 Iron garment hook
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Length 22 cm (8¾ in)
Gift of The Honorable and Mrs.
Hugh Scott
80.209

Iron was used for luxury objects, such as garment hooks, as early as the Warring States period. It is characteristic of the ingenuity of artisans of the period that they would combine iron, which earlier had been used principally to cast utilitarian farming implements, with precious materials, including gold, silver, and jade.

In spite of the heavy corrosion of the iron surface, which obliterates many details on the hook portion itself, some of the gold and silver designs inlaid along the outer edges of the garment hook are still visible. Inlaid along the central portion of the garment hook are alternating jade and

Repoussé design

cast gold plaques. In contrast to other portions of the garment hook, the workmanship of the comma patterns on the four jade plaques is relatively crude. On only one plaque is the design worked in relief. On the other three the curls are simply cut into the surface. In addition, the absence of straight lines enclosing the outer borders on one jade plaque and the presence of two small perforations on another piece raise the possibility that these may not all be original, or, at least, that the present inlay pattern may not be the original. Each gold inlay plaque is decorated with a dragon with an intertwined body, embellished with small curls. There are two slightly different designs, each repeated once. A triangular gold plaque at the hook end completes the composition.

The back of the garment hook is inlaid with sheet silver that has an irregular surface and has tarnished to a

dull gray. The small button projecting from the center is in fragmentary condition.

An equally corroded iron garment hook of this type is in the Singer collection.¹ Six gold plaques and five jade ornaments that probably were originally inlaid in a now-lost iron garment hook are in the Kempe collection.² A clear indication of the original appearance of all of these inlaid iron garment hooks is provided by two iron garment hooks inlaid with gold and jade that were found in 1956 in the unusually large-scale Warring States period tomb in the town of Ch'ang-t'ai-kuan in Hsin-yang Hsien, Honan Province.³ Both hooks, like the bronzes from the same site, were found in pristine condition without any corrosion or patina. The contrast between the iron and the gold and jade inlay indicates the sumptuous visual effect that prompted the use of iron for luxury objects.

1. Loehr, *Relics*, p. 107, no. 85c.

2. Gyllensvärd, *Chinese Gold and Silver in the Carl Kempe Collection*, no. 2a-b.

3. *WW*, no. 1 (1958): figs. 16-17.

- 52 Iron garment hook
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Length 11.4 cm (4½ in); width 6.4
cm (2½ in)
15.195

The broad, flat curving face of the garment hook is covered with a thin layer of sheet gold. Fine linear designs consisting of diagonal and curving lines are engraved into the surface of the sheet gold. Some lines are inlaid with silver. A heavy accretion covers the major portion of the gold.

At the back a small button and projecting hook, which is broken at the point where it meets the body, are also heavily corroded. The break between the hook and body is so complete that it is difficult to be certain that the two pieces originally were part of the same object, although the overall shape is consistent with contemporary examples.

Textile impressions are clearly preserved on the corroded surfaces on some portions of the hook and button. Around the button are impressions of what appears to be leather, presumably part of the original belt.

Given the present corroded state of the Freer garment hook, the combination of rough iron and luminous gold seems curious and inexplicable. Several iron garment hooks with gold decoration in pristine condition, however, have been unearthed from Ch'ang-t'ai-kuan, Honan Province.¹ On those hooks, the contrast between the two metals is extremely pleasing, and by studying these hooks one can better understand the appeal iron had for Chinese artisans who enjoyed experimenting with new and unusual materials.

A garment hook closely related to the Freer example in shape, composition, and decoration was unearthed in 1959 in tomb 27, one of a pair of

tombs assigned to the Warring States period, at Hou-ma, Shansi Province.² Several archaeologically unattested garment hooks also relate to the Freer piece.³

1. *WW*, no. 1 (1958): 12, fig. 26.

2. "Hou-ma Tung Chou hsün-jen mu," *WW*, nos. 8–9 (1960): 15–18, fig. 4; also reproduced in *WW*, no. 1 (1972): 63–67, fig. 6.

3. Nagahiro, *Taikō no kenkyū*, colorpl. II, pls. XXVIII, XLVII, nos. 40a, 74a, 93a, 113a; Palmgren, *Selected Chinese Antiquities from the Collection of Gustaf Adolf*, pl. 31:1; Christie's *Sale Catalogue* (New York, December 10, 1979), nos. 180–81.

53 Bronze garment hook
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Length 10.3 cm (4 $\frac{1}{16}$ in)
49.24

The modeling of the distinctly serpentine head that forms the terminus of the garment hook is emphasized by striated gold inlay motifs above the eyes and under the mouth. There are also two rows of small circles along the jaw. These specific references to serpent markings are quite different from the abstract curvilinear designs on the rest of the piece. On the rounded face, gold inlay designs of diagonal bands and small curls strictly observe the symmetry imposed by the central axis. By contrast, the same bands and curls cover the back in an informal asymmetry. These curl forms also ornament the large button that projects from the back center. Dark green accretions appear irregularly on the surface.

- 54 Bronze garment hook
Warring States period, 4th century
B.C.
Length 12.3 cm (4⁷/₈ in)
49.6

A pronounced median ridge running through the center of the face of this shield-shaped garment hook establishes an axis for the inlaid gold motifs. Pairs of interlaced dragon bands, their masks presented en face, fill the surface. Appendages, such as legs and claws, are rendered as abstract foliate forms. Smaller dragons, almost totally abstract, appear on the neck of the hook. Narrow gold lines define the edges of the garment hook, and the spaces between the dragons are enlivened by clusters of small silver dots. The upper portion of the garment hook consists of a monster mask modeled in the full round and inlaid with gold curvilinear designs. The hook itself has been damaged

and repaired. The beveled edges of the shaft are inlaid with gold and silver abstract designs. A large flat button is attached to the back of the shield portion of the hook. At the center of the button is a gold circular inlay. The inner portion of the hook and entire back section are covered with a rich green patina.

- 55 Jade and gold garment hook
Warring States period, 4th century
B.C.
Length 12.3 cm (4 $\frac{13}{16}$ in)
54.120

Formed by alternating sections of jade and gold, the garment hook is an unusually luxurious example of Warring States workmanship. The hook portion consists of a monster mask modeled fully in the round. An aperture at the crest of the hook may originally have been inset with inlay. Two horizontal concave bands mark the juncture between the gold hook and plain, broad jade border. The large gold button projects from the back of a gold segment decorated with a pair of bird-headed creatures. Those creatures are shown seated on their haunches, with forelegs raised to grasp their tails, which curl upward from between their legs. Small oval depressions in the eyes and a crescent-

shaped aperture between the pairs of lower legs may originally have held inlays. The symmetry introduced by these two hybrid creatures is observed throughout the garment hook. Rising from the bird heads are two jade cylinders, joined at the center by a small jade membrane and fitted at the ends with linked gold caps having a single concave band. The jade surfaces are covered with a symmetrically arranged dense pattern of C-shaped curls. Small incised circles and diagonal striations further enrich the jade surface. The backs of the jade pieces are plain. On the basis of the jade decoration, the garment hook can be dated to the fourth century B.C.¹

The combination of gold metal and white jade provides a sumptuous, albeit unusually heavy, garment hook. According to one source, the garment hook was unearthed at Shou Hsien, Anhui Province, and was made in the

state of Ch'u.² The sumptuous appearance of the piece would support such a provenance, although no comparable archaeologically attested examples are extant.

1. Rawson, "The Surface Decoration of Jades of the Chou and Han Dynasties," pp. 36-55.

2. *Chin-kuei*, pp. 89-90.

Drawing of bronze hook from Chung-chou-lu, Loyang, Honan Province (after *KK*, no. 3 [1974]: 176).

- 56 Bronze hook
Warring States period, 4th–3d
centuries B.C.
Length 7.6 cm (3 in); width 1.1 cm
($\frac{7}{16}$ in)
17.254

The thick, square-sectioned body of the hook—suggesting an implement intended for rigorous use—contrasts with the delicate gold and silver decoration inlaid on the surface. A simply rendered birdlike mask ornaments the curved hook, and a tightly rolled circle is placed where the button is usually found. Incised along the back undecorated plane of the piece is a short inscription that includes the phrase, “twenty-third year.”

Support for interpreting this type of hook as being part of a warrior’s trappings—a function fully endorsed by its sturdiness—is provided by a similar piece unearthed in a Warring States burial at Chung-chou-lu, near

Loyang, Honan Province. Also inlaid with gold and silver decoration, the Chung-chou-lu hook was found in a chariot pit, placed in front and slightly to the left of the carriage portion of the chariot, together with bronze objects identified in the archaeological report as bow fittings.¹ Related hooks, similar in shape but later in date, were found among the remarkable artifacts in pits near the mausoleum of Ch’in Shih-huang-ti at Lin-t’ung, Shensi Province.²

1. *KK*, no. 3 (1974): 172, 176, figs. 1, 6:1; pl. 3:5.

2. *WW*, no. 5 (1978), eight examples, not illustrated, are described on p. 13; *WW*, no. 12 (1979): pl. 2:5.

57 Bronze garment hook
Warring States period, 4th–3d
centuries B.C.
Length 21.7 cm (8½ in)
51.6

Some of the most elegant Chinese garment hooks are examples, such as this one, in which the neck and hook portions have been lengthened, with a corresponding extension of the central section. On pieces of this type, a small, simply everted button usually projects from the center at the back. In designing this long, slender gilt bronze garment hook, the artisan enhanced the effect of fragility and lightness by emphasizing the openwork areas. These refinements serve to dramatically transform the simple, sometimes awkwardly worked bronze hooks that were the original prototypes for Chinese craftsmen.

A serpentine tigerlike creature inlaid with irregularly shaped pieces of

turquoise appears in the center of the composition. Fluted gold bands separate the remaining portions of the garment hook. At one end is a monster mask with horns arched backward and modeled in low relief. Small, circular insets of light-colored turquoise accent the inlay pattern. At the opposite end of the garment hook is an abstract openwork design from which extends the curved hook modeled as a serpent head with a circular turquoise inlay in the forehead.

A suggestion that this garment hook might have been found at Chint's'un, near Loyang, Honan Province, is reasonable, but unverifiable.¹

1. White, *Tombs*, pl. LVd, illustrates a garment hook with a head similar to that found on the Freer example.

58 Bronze garment hook
Warring States period, 4th–3d
centuries B.C.
Length 24.5 cm (9 $\frac{5}{8}$ in)
53.88

A realistically modeled animal head that constitutes the hook contrasts with the slender paired bands and reticulated designs that make up the main portion of the symmetrical garment hook. Abstract shapes at the center and lower end of the garment hook are derived from birds. Those at the center suggest a pair of peacocklike birds in profile, while at the end, the birds join to form a head seen en face. Stylized fish-shaped forms, frequently seen on Chinese garment hooks, appear between the pairs of birds. Inlaid turquoise chips accentuate the elegance of the tracery designs.

Nagahiro Toshio reproduces a virtually identical garment hook.¹ Both

examples have a pronounced arc profile and a plain circular button that projects from the center of the garment hooks at the back.

1. Nagahiro, *Taikō no kenkyū*, pl. XX, no. 178.

- 59 Bronze garment hook
Warring States period, 4th–3d
centuries B.C.
Length 9.0 cm (3⁹/₁₆ in); width 4.6 cm
(1¹³/₁₆ in)
15.200

The oval body of the garment hook is decorated with a stylized monster mask surrounded by spined curvilinear bands. Abstract irregular forms on either side of the mask interrupt the outer contours and provide asymmetrical balance to the overall composition. As Bernhard Karlgren has shown, garment hooks of this type evolved from realistically modeled examples in which the central motif is a serpent-bodied monster.¹ The hook, on the Freer piece, which is a clearly defined segment of the form, is undecorated. At the back of the oval body, a small circular button is placed slightly off center on the supporting post.

Archaeologically attested garment hooks of this type were found in Warring States burials in Shansi and Honan provinces.²

1. Karlgren, "Agraffes," pls. 57–58.
2. "Shan-hsi Ch'ang-chih Fen-shui-ling Chan-kuo mu," *KK*, no. 3 (1964): pl. 5:17; "Shan-hsi Yung-chi Hsien Chieh-chia-yai fa-hsien ti i-p'i t'ung-ch'i," *WWTCTL*, no. 8 (1955): fig. 5; *Cheng-chou*, pl. 26:17.

- 60 Bronze garment hook
Warring States period, 4th–3rd
centuries B.C.
Length 8.6 cm (3³/₈ in); width 4.1 cm
(1⁵/₈ in)
15.201

Closely related to the previous garment hook, although representing a slightly later development, this example is also dominated by a stylized monster mask enveloped by stylized spined bands in the upper surface. The asymmetrical projections on either side of the oval contours are the remnants of what, in earlier, more naturalistically modeled examples, would have been the body of the monster.¹ A concave, circular motif immediately above the monster mask may have been inset with a contrasting material, perhaps glass.² The plain curling hook is clearly separate from the main portion of the piece. On the back of the garment

Drawing of bronze garment hook from Erh-li-kang, Cheng-chou, Honan Province (after *Cheng-chou*, fig. 28:4).

hook a small circular button is placed off center on the supporting post. Traces of the original gilding are still visible.

1. *BMFEA*, no. 38 (1966); pl. 57:N19W.

2. See the examples with glass inlays reproduced by Nagahiro, *Taikō no kenkyū*, pl. XXIX.

- 61 Bronze garment hook
Warring States period, 4th–3d
centuries B.C.
Length 4.5 cm ($1\frac{25}{32}$ in); width 1.8
cm ($\frac{23}{32}$ in)
15.177

This sturdy example is formed by a simple angular hook and flat curved shield. The face of the garment hook is divided longitudinally by tapering facets that form a median crest. A symmetrical curvilinear design, cast in intaglio, decorates the shield portion of the hook and extends along the projecting shaft. A rectilinear motif appears on the flattened surface of the backward-turning hook. On the back of the garment hook, the round button and supporting post are set within a sunken cavity that follows the contours of the shield.

Garment hooks of comparable size and shape, and with related decora-

tion, have been unearthed at Erh-li-kang, Cheng-chou, Honan Province.¹

1. *Cheng-chou*, pl. 26:2, 4.

Drawing of bronze garment hook from Chung-chou-lu, Loyang, Honan Province (after *Lo-yang*, pl. 71:6).

- 62 Bronze garment hook
Warring States period, 4th–3d
centuries B.C.
Length 6.4 cm ($2\frac{5}{16}$ in); width 2.8 cm
($1\frac{1}{8}$ in)
15.172

The simply modeled hook extends from a semicircular shield-shaped section. A portion of the outer edge of the shield is missing. A coarse green incrustation covers most of the piece, leaving visible on the shield only one section of the curvilinear intaglio decoration. On the back of the garment hook two horizontal casting scars flank the round button and supporting post to reveal the arrangement of piece molds used when the hook was cast.

- 63 Bronze garment hook
Warring States period, 4th–3d
centuries B.C.
Length 7.8 cm ($3\frac{1}{16}$ in); width 1.3 cm
($\frac{1}{2}$ in)
15.147

Simple curling designs embellish the two outer longitudinal concave planes on the face of this small garment hook. The curved hook is completely abstract. A heavy green incrustation covers all surfaces of the piece. Flanking the curvilinear button on the back are horizontal seams indicating the way in which the piece molds were arranged at the time it was cast.

A garment hook from Chung-chou-lu, Loyang, Honan Province, is closely related in shape and decoration to the Freer example.¹

1. *Lo-yang*, p. 104, pl. 71:6.

- 64 Bronze garment hook
Warring States period, 4th–3d
centuries B.C.
Length 5.6 cm ($2\frac{3}{16}$ in)
15.146

Among the garment hooks said to have come from Shou-chou, Anhui Province, are several that are characterized by hooks in the shape of an extremely stylized bird head and by bodies with symmetrical spiral decoration.¹ The garment hooks are small in scale. Both in shape and decoration this example from the Freer collection is related to those garment hooks associated with Shou-chou. A casting seam runs across the ovoid button and longitudinally along the back of the hook. There is some minor loss at the wider end of the piece.

Two fragmentary garment hooks of this same type were among a group of twenty-six unearthed with a variety of artifacts, including some

Warring States period bronze money, at a Ch'in dynasty kiln site in the environs of the ancient capital of Hsien-yang, Shensi Province.² Some related garment hooks were also included among the more than one hundred found in the Warring States tombs at Erh-li-kang, Cheng-chou, Honan Province.³

1. Karlbeck, "Selected Objects from Ancient Shou-chou," pl. 28:5-8, p. 93.

2. Shan-hsi sheng po-wu-kuan k'an-ch'a hsiao-tsu et al., "Ch'in-tu Hsien-yang ku-ch'eng i-chih fa-hsien ti yao-chih ho t'ung-ch'i," *KK*, no. 1 (1974): 25, fig. 9:7, 11.

3. *Cheng-chou*, pp. 66-69, pl. 40:10-11.

- 65 Bronze garment hook
Warring States period, 4th-3d centuries B.C.
Length 3.8 cm (1⁷/₃₂ in)
15.176

The size and decoration of this garment hook are comparable to the examples traditionally associated with the site of Shou-chou, Anhui Province.¹ Other garment hooks of the same type have been unearthed in archaeological finds in Shensi and Honan provinces.²

A seam bisecting the surface of the button on the back of the garment hook indicates how the piece was cast.

1. Karlbeck, "Selected Objects from Ancient Shou-chou," p. 93, pl. 28:5-8.

2. Shan-hsi sheng po-wu-kuan k'an-ch'a hsiao-tsu et al., "Ch'in-tu Hsien-yang ku-ch'eng i-chih fa-hsien ti yao-chih ho

t'ung-ch'i," *KK*, no. 1 (1974): 25, fig. 9:7, 11; *Cheng-chou*, pp. 66-69, pl. 40:10-11.

- 66 Bronze garment hook
Warring States period, 4th–3d
centuries B.C.
Length 5.4 cm (2 $\frac{1}{8}$ in)
16.267

As with the two previous garment hooks (cat. nos. 64–65), this example can be compared with the small, simply ornamented examples associated with the Ch'u site at Shou-chou, Anhui Province.¹ The symmetrical linear decoration can also be seen on garment hooks found in Shensi and Honan provinces.²

Of particular interest are the horizontal seams that appear on either side of the oval button at the back of the Freer piece. Placement of the long side of the oval button at right angles to the shaft of the hook may have been dictated by the way in which the piece molds were assembled when the hook was cast.

- 67 Bronze garment hook
Warring States period, 4th–3d
centuries B.C.
Length 3.7 cm (1 $\frac{5}{32}$ in)
16.266

The serpents on this garment hook are arranged symmetrically. The outer contours of the serpent bodies and central spines are indicated by narrow raised bands; they are further embellished by rows of regular, small

raised dots or granulated bands. Six raised rings, arranged in two rows, accent the cluster of coiled serpents. On some garment hooks said to have come from Shou-chou, Anhui Province, the interior of the raised rings are inset with turquoise.¹ An inscription placed along the lower end of the projecting hook is difficult to decipher; one character appears to be *jih* ("sun"). The hook itself is decorated with a large animal mask. The flat button at the back has been lost.

Coiled serpents appear as decorative motifs on a number of garment hooks said to have been unearthed at Shou-chou.² Their small size and precise casting reflect the courtly elegance of Ch'u artifacts.

1. Karlbeck, "Selected Objects from Ancient Shou-chou," pl. 24:2.
2. Ibid., pp. 41–130, especially pp. 85–89, pls. 22–24.

68 Bronze garment hook
Warring States period, 4th–3d
centuries B.C.
Length 17.5 cm ($6\frac{7}{8}$ in); width 6.6
cm ($2\frac{3}{8}$ in)
16.233

The size and weight of the impressive garment hook suggest that it might have been made solely for ceremonial purposes. Aside from the animal mask modeled in relief at the end of the hook, all of the forms appear to have been based on foliate shapes. Two registers of imbricated inlay patterns beneath the hook establish alternating rhythms that continue throughout the composition. Gold and silver wires in chevron striations and concentric arcs filled with dots are inlaid flush to the surface. Slightly larger dots are left in reserve on the inlay silver ground. In the next register, separated by a broad horizontal silver band, these same motifs are re-

peated on a flaring surface. Once again, there are small circles in reserve on the silver ground. In the remaining segments, each of the foliate forms on the garment hook has a pronounced three dimensionality, and the small dots in reserve become increasingly larger until they, too, acquire an individual importance. The symmetry of the overall design yields in the slight variation of the gold and silver inlay designs that appear on either side of the central silver fluted motif. A final assertion of asymmetry is provided by the bold silver tear-shaped inset with a correspondingly shaped piece of rock crystal. Three other pieces of rock crystal are inlaid into the surface.

The back of the garment hook and round projecting button have plain surfaces. Textile impressions are visible in the corroded surfaces.¹

Imbricated inlay designs appear on several other garment hooks dating

from the Warring States period. An example was unearthed in Szechwan Province.²

1. The Freer garment hook has been illustrated and discussed by Sirén, *A History of Early Chinese Art*, 2: pl. 40B; idem, *Kinas Konst under Tre Artusenden*, 1: pl. 73; Umehara, "Chūgoku kodai no hōshoku taikō," *Yamato bunka* 11 (September 1953): pl. VI; idem, *Shina Kōgyoku zuroku* (Tokyo and Kyoto, 1955), pl. 102, center.

2. An example was unearthed in tomb 172 at Yang-tzu-shan, Szechwan Province (KKHP, no. 4 [1956]: 15, fig. 18). The bold shape of the hook is also seen in an example from I-ch'ang, Hupei Province (KKHP, no. 2 [1976]: pl. 2:9). See also Loehr, *Relics*, p. 105, no. 93; and *Handbook of the Collection in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art and Mary Atkins Museum of Fine Art* (Kansas City, Mo., 1973), 2:18, upper left.

- 69 Bronze garment hook
Late Warring States or Western Han
periods, 3d century B.C.
Length 9.0 cm (3 $\frac{3}{16}$ in)
53.82

Three animal masks dominate the face of the garment hook. The largest mask, modeled in sharply defined low relief, appears on the jade plaque that is inset into the shield portion of the garment hook. Between the curiously pointed ears of this mask is a large semicircular loop filled with a greenish paste. The same green material appears in the apertures of the eyes. An incised curl pattern decorates the slightly concave border of the plaque. Around the edges of the shield are gilt bronze stylized animal forms. A smaller, undecorated jade plaque contiguous with the larger one embellishes the second monster mask, which is modeled in low relief and faces in the opposite direction from

the jade plaque. This gilt bronze mask provides a transition between the shield and the hook itself. The tip of the hook is in the shape of a three-dimensional horned monster.

Extensive green accretions are found on the back of the garment hook and plain round button that protrudes from it. Some textured impressions, apparently made by a leather belt, appear on the surface of the button.

In 1937 Umehara Sueji published the garment hook as being among those Warring States objects unearthed at Chin-ts'un, Honan Province.¹ There is no certainty, however, that the Freer garment hook actually was found at that important site.

1. Umehara, *Rakuyō*, p. 43, pl. LXXV:3. In Umehara's reproduction, the large jade plaque is irregularly affixed to the surface of the garment hook. At some time be-

fore the piece came to the Freer Gallery in 1953 the plaque was reattached in its present position. Among the other artifacts included in *Rakuyō* is a jade garment hook of similar size and decoration to the one in the Freer collection (pl. LXXV:1).

70 Bronze garment hook
Late Warring States–Western Han
periods, 3d century B.C.
Length 22.0 cm (8¹¹/₁₆ in)
41.6

In the bold, asymmetrically shaped garment hook is combined realism and abstraction, a synthesis that appears in Chinese art as early as the Shang dynasty (ca. 1523–1028 B.C.). An animal head with realistically modeled eyes, ears, and muzzle dominates the hook itself. The eyes are inset with a relatively soft, shiny material that may be jet. A concave ring marks the joint between the hook proper and main portion of the garment hook. Raised curvilinear bands, outlined in gold and inlaid with turquoise chips, cross and merge into a realistically modeled feline creature and a stylized foliate stem that terminates in a flat, dramatically curved blade. The face of the feline and circle

of turquoise that it grasps in its front paws form the focal point of the composition. The facial features, including the inset eyes, are similar to those on the hook itself. Turquoise inlays, including small circular accents, occur throughout the design. On the flat surfaces at the back of the garment hook, casually incised lines establish a gilded border; most of the enclosed center areas are silvered.

Alfred Salmony has proposed an interpretation for the symbolism of the decoration of this garment hook.¹

Related garment hooks of similar elegance are few. Nagahiro illustrates an example in which an animal turns to devour curvilinear foliate bands.² In that garment hook, the relationship between the various parts is less skillfully resolved than in the Freer piece. A small (9.3 cm long) gilt bronze garment hook in the Brundage collection is ornamented with a striding dragon inlaid with turquoise.³ The

end of the Brundage garment hook is also characterized by a flat curving blade. There is an identical belt hook in the Freer collection (15.95).

1. Salmony, "The Magic Ball and the Golden Fruit in Chinese Art," in *Art and Thought* (London, 1948), pp. 105–9, pl. XXIX, fig. 2.

2. Nagahiro, *Taikō no kenkyū*, pl. XLIV, no. 137.

3. *Brundage Bronzes*; pl. LI, D. See also *KKHP*, no. 2 (1963): fig. 24:6, pl. XII:1.

- 71 Bronze garment hook
Late Warring States–Western Han periods, 3d century B.C.
Length 22.0 cm (8¹¹/₁₆ in); width 4.4 cm (1³/₄ in)
54.121

This garment hook is one of the most ornate in the Freer collection. Observing strict symmetry throughout, fantastic animal forms merge into one another and are embellished with a variety of rich, coloristic materials that enhance the total visual effect.

The realistically modeled dragon head that constitutes the hook itself is inlaid with abstract gold and silver designs; it protrudes from the mouth of another dragon on the body of the garment hook. Easing the transition between different portions of the garment hook, slender, twisting horns extend from gold monster masks at either end of the piece. These horns are accentuated by an alternating pat-

tern of inlaid gold and silver. Between the horns are ribbed jade carvings that function as necks for the dragons. The reticulation of the horns and necks of the dragons lends the garment hook an openness and lightness. Wings and curving legs with sharp claws that project from either side of the garment hook emphasize the protean aspect of the creatures. Scale patterns in gold inlay hint at their serpentine nature without specifically defining them.

Ovoid and circular jade discs of varying sizes are inset into the outer surface of the garment hook. The largest of these, at the center of the garment hook, is in the form of a splayed animal, the body modeled in low relief. Diagonal striations and crosshatching further enhance the design. Of equally fine quality is the jade monster mask at the lower end of the garment hook. Eleven small circular glass insets further embellish

the surface of the piece.

An abstract pattern of curvilinear silver bands decorates the underside of the central portion of the piece. Similar silver decoration appears on the large, flat button. A small rectangular flange with a circular perforation projects at right angles just below the neck at the back of the garment hook.

According to Ch'en Jen-t'ao, the Freer garment hook is from Ch'angsha, Hunan Province.¹ A garment hook, slightly shorter in length (18.4 cm) and less flamboyant in design, was unearthed in tomb 5 at Ku-wei-ts'un, Hui Hsien, Honan Province. At either end of that piece are monster masks with attenuated twisting horns.²

1. *Chin-kuei*, pp. 91–92. Ch'en describes the piece as being from the state of Ch'u and dating from the Warring States period.

2. *Hui Hsien*, pp. 104–5, fig. 132, pl. 74.

Drawing of gilt bronze garment hook from tomb 5, Ku-wei-ts'un, Hui Hsien, Honan Province (after *Hui Hsien*, p. 104).

- 72 Gilt bronze garment hook
Late Warring States–Western Han periods, 3d century B.C.
Length 26.7 cm (10½ in)
16.443

Bronze openwork designs cast in high relief represent asymmetrically intertwined animals. At both ends of the body of the garment hook are large animal masks seen en face. Various parts of the mask at the lower end of the hook terminate in animal heads and claws, lending an element of fantasy to the image. The undulating movement of the fantastic creatures and the reticulated surfaces prevent the garment hook, which is unusually large, from appearing ponderous. Presumably, the two large openings on the body of the hook were originally fitted with carved jade plaques.

The hook terminates in a precisely modeled dragon head.

Garment hooks of this size and complexity can be dated to the final years of the Warring States period. In boldness of decoration, they are the prototypes for such Han dynasty examples as the two gold hooks found at San-li-tun, Lien-shui, Kiangsu Province.¹

A garment hook of similar size and shape, with the jade plaques still intact, is in the Fogg Museum.² Among the finds in tomb 5 at Ku-wei-ts'un, Hui Hsien, Honan Province, is a large garment hook of comparable quality but with a symmetrical design and fitted with a jade hook.³ A smaller hook, with the same type of cast decor and inset jade plaques, is reproduced by Alfred Salmony.⁴

1. *KK*, no. 2 (1973): 83, fig. 4:5–6, pl. 12:2–3.
2. Loehr, *Jades*, p. 326, no. 476.
3. *Hui Hsien*, p. 104, fig. 123, pl. 74.
4. Salmony, *Chinese*, pl. XVIII:1.

- 73 Bronze garment hook
Late Warring States–Western Han pe-
riods, 3d century B.C.
Length 17.4 cm (6 $\frac{7}{8}$ in)
16.264

The length of this tubular garment hook is divided in the middle by three bands, one gold and two silver. Those bands, in turn, are bounded by thin silver lines. The gold and silver bands that decorate the extreme ends of the garment hook are also bounded by thin silver lines. On the face of each of the longitudinal sections is a curving diagonal band, with cusped bird-head forms at either end. Small silver circles suggest eyes and enliven these heads. Passing beneath is a contrasting diagonal band. In the triangular shape at the juncture of the two crossing diagonal bands are similar

small silver circles, again serving to enliven the bird-shaped heads. Gold dots embellish the crossing diagonal bands; the petal-shaped forms that appear along the center of the two bands are outlined with silver and filled with silver dots. Broad, curving bands of gold and silver accent the space above the bird heads. On the butt end of the garment hook is a five-petaled floral motif outlined in silver and filled with gold dots; a quatrefoil ornament appears on the face of the button at the back of the garment hook. A pair of fish, rendered with direct simplicity, is inlaid in gold on the lower portion of the back of the piece. Although it is heavily corroded, the top section appears to be modeled in the form of a monster mask; it has been broken and repaired. Fragmentary portions of

bird heads, rendered in gold dots, are on either side of the mask, and a mat impression is visible in the corrosion at the top of the piece. The intricate coloristic designs probably reflect the influence of contemporary painted lacquer designs.

In 1953 a garment hook embellished with comparable inlay decoration was unearthed in tomb 650 at Loyang, Honan Province.¹ Another example was found in tomb 172 at Yang-tzu-shan, Ch'eng-tu, Szechwan Province.² William Charles White includes a similar garment hook among the artifacts said to have come from the Warring States tombs at Chint'sun, near Loyang, Honan Province.³ Several related examples are in Western collections.⁴

1. *KKHP*, no. 8 (1954): 154, pl. 7:8. Several pieces of pottery from tomb 612 published in the same article with the garment hook from tomb 650 are decorated with painted designs similar to those inlaid on the garment hook (*ibid.*, pp. 142, 144, figs. 8:2b, 9).

2. *KKHP*, no. 4 (1956): 15, fig. 18.

3. White, *Tombs*, pl. LV:b.

4. Grenville L. Winthrop, p. 49, no. 49; Karlgren, "Agraffes," pp. 83-159, pls. 1-3; Loehr, *Relics*, p. 105, no. 92.

- 74 Bronze garment hook
Late Warring States–early Western Han period, 3d century B.C.
Length 3.1 cm ($1\frac{7}{32}$ in); width 1.5 cm ($\frac{17}{32}$ in)
16.268

The basic components of a garment hook—hook, support, and button—are here presented in a compact undecorated form that retains a functional elegance. Seams on either side of the projecting post and along the back surface of the hook reveal the way in which the piece molds were joined.

Garment hooks of this type, which may have been worn with the hook suspended vertically, have been found in archaeological excavations dating from the late years of the Warring States period and early years of the Western Han dynasty.¹

1. "Shan-hsi Hsi-an Pan-p'o Chan-kuo mu-tsang," *KKHP*, no. 3 (1957): pl. 12:8; "Kuang-tung Kuang-chou Hua-ch'iao hsin-ts'un Hsi Han mu," *KKHP*, no. 2 (1958): 39, fig. 26:1; "Hu-nan Ch'ang-sha nan-chiao Sha-tzu-t'ang Han mu," *KK*, no. 3 (1965): pl. 3:7.
- 75 Bronze garment hook
Late Warring States–early Western Han periods, 3d century B.C.
Length 2.8 cm ($1\frac{1}{8}$ in); width 1.2 cm ($\frac{15}{32}$ in)
15.178

Simply formed circular depressions on either side of the hook portion animate the otherwise abstract forms. The damaged, irregularly shaped button on the back of the garment hook

probably was circular in its original form. Seam scars on either side of the projecting post and along the back indicate how the molds were joined at the time the piece was cast.

A stone garment hook of this same shape, also decorated with circular eyes, was among the six early Western Han dynasty examples unearthed at Ch'ang-sha, Hunan Province.¹

1. "Hu-nan Ch'ang-sha nan-chiao Sha-tzu-t'ang Han mu," *KK*, no. 3 (1965): pl. 3.

Jades

Of all the materials worked by Chinese artisans, none is regarded with quite the same reverence as jade. Yet, to the Chinese people, the term jade, or *yü*, encompasses a wider range of minerals and hardstones than the strictly limited nephrite and jadeite of Western definition. For Chinese artisans the beauty of the material was paramount, and during all periods, minerals and hardstones such as chloromelanite, hornblende, serpentine, and rhyolite were admired and worked with the same care as nephrite. Jadeite apparently was not used in China until the seventeenth or eighteenth century.¹

The dating of Chinese jades poses special problems. Few pieces are inscribed, and those infrequent inscriptions rarely provide information that is of any assistance in precise dating.² While jade artifacts are sometimes mentioned in bronze inscriptions, the terseness of those inscriptions prevents their being used for any specific research on jade. Further, the number of jade pieces usually found in archaeological excavations tends to be considerably smaller than the number of ritual bronze vessels. A few recent finds have provided dramatic exceptions to that rule.³

In seeking to establish a chronological sequence for jade carvings, scholars, of necessity, initially concentrated on interpreting subtle changes in shape and decoration. Although there are marked differences in the methods of manufacture, the close relationship between the decorative motifs on jade carvings and those on contemporary ritual bronze vessels prompted specialists to assign dates to archaeologically unattested jade pieces on the basis of stylistic comparison with datable bronzes.⁴ On those jade artifacts where decoration is lacking—as is frequently the case with late Neolithic, Shang, and Western Chou jades—carving techniques and changes in shape are critical factors. Alfred Salmony was a pioneer in this comparative method of dating Chinese jade, and his publications are deservedly regarded as milestones in the study of Chinese jade.⁵ Unfortunately, Salmony's death in 1958 meant that he derived only limited benefit from those archaeologically attested jades that had been found in the People's Republic of China since 1949. Other scholars, such as S. Howard Hansford,⁶ Hayashi Minao,⁷ Max Loehr,⁸ and James C. Y. Watt,⁹ have made critical contributions to the precise dating of Chinese jades on the basis of these new data.

As more information about Chinese jade becomes available from archaeological finds, scholars have attempted to identify regional shapes and carving techniques that began as early as the late Neolithic period and continued into historical times. Particularly important is the observation that the Neolithic centers for jade carving appear to have been

located in eastern and central-eastern China, as represented by the Ch'ing-lien-kang culture in Kiangsu Province, Liang-chu culture in Chekiang Province, and Lung-shan culture in Shantung Province.¹⁰

Rubbings of jade pieces from Han-tan, Hopei Province (after KK, no. 12 [1962]: 627).

Identification of different schools of Chinese jade carving has been of vital importance in furthering any understanding of the sequence of the shapes and decorative motifs of all periods, since some shapes and decorative motifs continue to be used in certain areas long after they were introduced in others. As our knowledge expands, it is possible to propose a temporal and geographic distribution for certain types of minerals.¹¹

Aesthetically and technically, the jades of the Warring States period are among the finest that have ever been produced in China. Yet, it is only in recent years that those jades have been the subject of special studies. Drawing upon information in Chinese archaeological reports, Jessica Rawson¹² and Max Loehr¹³ have traced stylistic changes in jade carvings through the Warring States period. Especially noteworthy is the statement that the well-known curl or spiral motif found on so many Warring States jades was a creation of the Ch'u state.¹⁴

For the Warring States period, the recognition of a regional style featuring unusually large-scale dimensions and

Drawing of jade ornament from tomb 1 at Ku-wei-ts'un, Hui Hsien, Honan Province (after *Hui Hsien*, p. 81).

casual workmanship, which may be peculiar to the state of Ch'u, enables specialists to identify a group of jades whose chronology and provenance formerly had been uncertain.¹⁵ Identification of a distinctly southern jade style considerably expands earlier knowledge that was based mainly on several chance finds in north China at sites such as Chin-ts'un near Lo-yang, Honan Province,¹⁶ and Liu-li-ko, Hui Hsien, Anhui Province.¹⁷ Among the important Warring States finds made during recent years, those at Sui Hsien, Hupei Province, dating from the early years of the fifth century B.C., and at P'ing-shan, Hopei Province, dating from the fourth

century B.C., are of special importance for our understanding of jade carving during the period.¹⁸ At Sui Hsien, with its extraordinary reticulated bronze vessels that were cast by the lost-wax method and set of sixty-five bronze bells, several dragon plaques and a pendant were found.¹⁹ Those pieces are elegantly finished and of the same complexity as those from Hopei, the site of the Chung-shan State. While it would be incorrect to place too great an importance on the similarities at the expense of the differences, the parallels do support the theory that during the course of the Warring States period, artifacts from the different states became increasingly similar in style.

Basic for an understanding of Chinese jade carvings of the Warring States period is a recognition of the marked change in attitudes toward their function. Just as the elaborate inlay designs on Warring States bronze vessels indicate a transformation of the ritual function of those vessels, so does the secular emphasis upon shapes and designs in Warring States jade carvings herald a corresponding preference for gemlike luxury objects.

Notes

1. Western scholars usually propose an eighteenth-century date for the introduction of jadeite into China. A convincing argument for a date as early as the seventeenth century for the use of jadeite in China is provided by James C. Y. Watt in *Chinese Jades from Han to Ch'ing*, pp. 29-30.

Drawings of jade figures unearthed in western suburbs of Loyang, Honan Province (after KK, no. 12 [1959]: 657).

Rubbings of jade objects from tomb 172,
Yang-tzu-shan, Ch'eng-tu, Szechwan
Province (after *KKHP*, no. 4 [1956]: fig.
19).

2. Examples of jades with inscriptions that purport to be early are discussed and/or illustrated in the following publications: Britton, "A Question of Early Shang," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 63 (1943): 272–78; Salmony, *Chinese*, pl. xxiii, 1; Loehr, *Jades*, pp. 15–20; *KK*, no. 9 (1959): 457, fig. 4; *WW*, no. 10 (1958): 73, no. 2 (1978): 72, no. 2 (1979): 93, no. 12, p. 74; *KKHP*, no. 3 (1956): 127, pl. 16, no. 2 (1976): 134, fig. 23:3; T'ien-ching-shih wen-wu k'ao-ku kung-tso san-shih nien pien-hsieh-tsu, *Wen-wu k'ao-ku kung-tso san-shih nien* (Peking, 1979), pp. 30–31, fig. 6; Na Chih-liang, *Yü-ch'i t'ung-shih*, 2:227–40; Huang Chün, *Ku-yü t'u-lu ch'u-chi*, *chüan* 1, pp. 31b, 42b, 43b, 44b; *chüan* 2, pp. 18a, 19a, *chüan* 4, pp. 11a, 11b, 12a, 12b, 13a, 13b, 14a.

3. The Shang dynasty tomb 5 unearthed at Anyang yielded nearly five hundred pieces of jade (*KKHP*, no. 2 [1977]: 1–34, 57–98; *Fuhao*, colorpls. XIV–XXXVII; pls. LXXXI–CLXVI). Some of those jades are so unlike the pieces associated with those of Anyang that it is likely they represent provincial intrusions.

Two Warring States tombs have been particularly rich in jades. The tomb of the Marquis 1 of Tseng dating from the fifth century B.C., found at Sui Hsien, Hupei Province (*WW*, no. 7 [1979]: 1–52; *Sui Hsien*, 1980), yielded approximately three hundred pieces of jade. Equally impressive are the jades from the tombs of rulers of the state of Chung-shan, unearthed at P'ing-shan, Hopei Province, and dating from the fourth century B.C. (*Treasures*, pls. 45–72; figs. 46–66).

4. The problems inherent in such a method of dating early Chinese jades are obvious. Writing in 1975 Max Loehr summed up the situation as follows: "Successful though this method proved to be when first used in 1938, in the long run a more promising method is to compare jades with jades—whatever the temporary risk taken in respect of absolute dates" (*Jades*, p. 6).

5. Salmony, *Carved Jades of Ancient China*; idem, *Archaic Chinese Jades from the Edward and Louise B. Sommenschein Collection*; idem, *Chinese*.

6. Hansford, *Chinese Jade Carving*; idem, *Chinese Carved Jade*; idem, *Jade*.

7. Hayashi, "Chūgoku kodai no saigyoku zuigyoku," pp. 161–223; idem, "Haigyoku to jū," pp. 1–58.

8. Loehr, *Jade*.

9. Watt, *Chinese Jades from Han to Ch'ing*.

10. Ayers and Rawson, *Chinese Jade throughout the Ages*, p. 8; Hayashi, "Sen In-shiki no gyokki bunka," *Museum*, no. 334 (January 1979): 4–16; idem, "Ryōsho bunka no gyokki jakkan o megutte," *Museum*, no. 360 (March 1981): 22–33. Some mention should also be made of the Shih-hsia culture in Kwangtung Province, which also produced important early jade artifacts (*WW*, no. 7 [1978]: 1–15, figs. 18, 27–35).

11. Salmony, *Chinese*, p. 115; Rawson, "The Surface Decoration on Jades of the Chou and Han Dynasties," p. 50.

12. Rawson, "The Surface Decoration on Jades of the Chou and Han Dynasties."

13. Loehr, "The Emergence and Decline of the Eastern Chou Decor of Plastic Curls," in Loehr, *Jades*, pp. 21–28.

14. Rawson, "The Surface Decoration on Jades of the Chou and Han Dynasties," p. 42.

15. Fontein and Wu, *Unearthing China's Past*, p. 86.

16. White, *Tombs*; Umehara, *Rakuyō*; Karlgren, "Notes on a Kint'sun Album," pp. 65–82.

17. *Hui Hsien*.

18. See note 3. In a recent article, Chou Nan-ch'üan discusses the more than three thousand Warring States period jade and stone carvings that were unearthed from Chung-shan tombs. According to the author, there were jades of various colors, crystal, agate, and several kinds of semiprecious stones, whose hardness on Mohs' scale varied from three to seven. Examination of the carvings by specialists revealed "jade" from Honan, Liaoning, and Sinkiang; agate from Hopei; mineral stones from T'ai-hsing-shan, Honan Province, and others whose origins have yet to be identified (see Chou Nan-ch'üan, "Chung-shan kuo ti yü-ch'i," pp. 95–96).

19. *WW*, no. 7 (1979): pl. 8:1–2; *Sui Hsien*, pls. 95, 97–105.

- 76 Jade pendant
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Length 7.5 cm (3 in); width 5.3
cm (2 $\frac{1}{8}$ in)
16.151

The trapezoidal pendant of brownish yellow nephrite probably is a fragment of a larger, more complex form. The outer contours of three sides of the pendant are slightly irregular with visibly convex profiles. The marked straightness of the fourth edge supports the suggestion that the pendant is a fragment. That possibility is further substantiated by the lighter color of the fourth edge, abrupt way in which the relief decoration ends, and lack of care in finishing the narrow outer band. It is difficult to determine when and how the original jade was broken or dam-

aged. Possibly the damage occurred when the piece was unearthed, and to salvage as much as possible, one edge was polished and finished to provide a reasonably satisfactory pendant.

Two circular perforations of different size were drilled from opposite sides of the pendant. Both perforations are placed near the outer edges of the shorter sides, where they interrupt the narrow striated band that divides the flat surfaces longitudinally. Both sides of the pendant are decorated with two registers of irregularly composed spirals in low relief. Two monster masks appear in one of the registers. The lack of symmetry in the relief decoration is unusual; most jade pieces are ornamented with carefully balanced compositions.¹

1. Alfred Salmony discusses the Freer pendant in *Carved Jades*, pl. XLIX.2.

Photograph of earlier arrangement of cat. no. 77 (after Umehara, *Rakuyō*, p. 47, fig. 20).

- 77 Jade and gold pectoral
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Length 40.7 cm (16 $\frac{1}{16}$ in)
30.27

The ten jade pieces and gold wire chain are said to have been unearthed at Chin-ts'un, near Loyang, Honan Province.¹ In a photograph published by Umehara Sueji, the pectoral consists of only eight pieces of jade, which are arranged in a grouping different from the present arrangement.² The clandestine nature of Chin-ts'un finds helps to explain why so much uncertainty attends the objects associated with the site. The present arrangement of the jade pieces and gold chain, however, seems more reasonable than that shown in the earlier photograph.

The shapes of many jade pieces associated with Chin-ts'un finds are conceived as elegant silhouettes, the individual forms balancing realism and abstraction. The symmetrically

Necklace from Shang-ts'un-ling, Honan Province (after *STLK*, colorpl. 1).

paired dancing figures and curving dragon pendants are excellent examples of that balance. The dancers' long flowing sleeves, sashes, and skirts verge on complete freedom, with only the simply modeled faces identifying the forms as human figures. Similarly, the heads and front paws of the curling dragons emerge from bands decorated with regular patterns of curls. Six geometric jade pieces complete the ensemble.³

The gold chain is fashioned of separate links, which apparently were made of wire and welded closed. Each link encloses two others. A necklace in the Singer collection, with jade and amber beads joined on a gold chain, is also said to have been found at Chin-ts'un.⁴ Included in a Hsiung-nu hoard of more than two hundred gold and silver objects found in Inner Mongolia and dated to the Spring and Autumn–Warring States

periods is a similar chain made of braided gold wire.⁵

In recent years, a number of assemblages have been unearthed in tombs dating from the late Spring and Autumn–Warring States periods. Several jade and crystal examples were found in 1971–72 in tombs from the state of Ch'i at Lang-chia-chuang, Shantung Province.⁶ The assemblages are noteworthy for the many circular discs, which, had they been found separately, might have been identified as bracelets. A cemetery at Shang-ts'un-ling, Honan Province, in the state of Kuo, yielded several jade necklaces. On the basis of the find, the shield-shaped jade pieces can be dated prior to 655 B.C.⁷ Three assemblages were found in an Eastern Chou tomb, 2717, at Chung-chou-lu, Honan Province.⁸ No one of those assemblages is comparable in style or elegance to the Freer pectoral.

1. White, *Tombs*, pl. CXXV.

2. Umehara, *Rakuyō*, p. 47, fig. 20.

3. The Freer pectoral has been illustrated and discussed by many scholars. Among the most important of those presentations are Salmony, *Carved Jades*, pls. L:1 LI:1, LII:1; Sirén, *Kinas Konst under Tre Artusenden*, 1: pls. 56, 121, fig. 85. Umehara, *Shina kogyoku zuroku*, pl. LXXXVII; Mizuno, *BEJ*, fig. 72; William Watson, *Early Civilization in China* (London, 1966), p. 123; Hansford, *Chinese Carved Jade*, pl. 34; Dohrenwend, "Jade Demonic Images from Early China," *Ars Orientalis* 10 (1975): fig. 75.

4. Loehr, *Relics*, p. 74.

5. T'ien Kuang-chin and Kuo Su-hsin, "Nei-meng-ku A-lu-ch'ai-teng fa-hsien ti Hsiung-nu i-wu," pp. 333–38, 364, pl. 12:6.

6. *KKHP*, no. 1 (1977): pls. 13–15.

7. *STLK*, colorpl. I, pls. XXIV–XXV.

8. Lo-yang, pp. 119–20, pl. 71:1–3.

- 78 Jade pendant
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Height 9.7 cm (3¹³/₁₆ in)
30.43

A single dancing figure, fashioned of highly polished cream-colored jade, stands with one arm held at the side and covered by the folds of a voluminous sleeve. Extending from the end of the sleeve is a foliate-shaped streamer that may represent an inner garment. The other arm is upraised and probably curved above the head (see cat. nos. 77, 79), although in its present fragmentary condition, the sleeve ends just above the cross-hatched border of the jacket. The same type of fine crosshatching decorates the border of the other sleeve. Straight lines embellish the vertical edge of the robe, which folds in at the waist, reappears on the opposite

side only to disappear, and then emerges at the bottom hemline. A wide sash worn at the waist emphasizes the curvilinear streamers that radiate outward and striated pleats that fall to the hem. Both feet are shown in profile, and judging from the low relief modeling, the figure wears thick-soled shoes that turn up at the toe where there is a twisted ornament. Facial details are similarly rendered, with attention given to the hair, which is tied at the back and falls in long tiered tresses. A small pierced loop at the base of the pendant probably was used to attach another ornament.

The human figure played a minor role in the repertoire of Chinese artists during the Shang and Western Chou periods. During the Eastern Chou, representations of male and female figures became more common. The sophistication of dancers of the

type depicted on this pendant indicates that artists of the Warring States period imbued the human figure with the same abstract elegance that is so characteristic of their rendering in jade of birds and animals.

Umehara Sueji includes this pendant in his study of objects said to have been unearthed at Chin-ts'un, near Loyang, Honan Province.¹

1. Umehara, *Rakuyō*, pl. LXXXIV:2. The pendant has also been illustrated and discussed by Salmony, *Carved Jades*, pl. L:2–3; Mizuno, *BEJ*, pl. 163g.

- 79 Jade pendant
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Height 8.0 cm (3 $\frac{1}{8}$ in)
38.16

The dancer looks directly forward. Facial details are few, with emphasis on the elaborate coiffure that includes a full crown, short wavy locks over the ears, and tiered plaits that hang down the back. One arm is placed across the dancer's waist, the other is raised over her head. Long, fluted inner sleeves project from the full outer garment. Incised lines indicate the folds of the sleeves and skirt, and a band of crosshatching decorates the sleeve edges. Striated lines embellish the collar and lower hem.

The curvilinear rhythms of the long, flowing sleeves are partially counterbalanced by the contour of the

dramatically pointed skirt. The shape of the skirt, which probably was intended to suggest a dancing pose, lends a curious instability to the figure. Although the dancing figures on the jade and gold pectoral (cat. no. 77) exemplify a more successful solution to the same problem, comparison of the overall design still suggests a Chin-ts'un provenance for the pendant. On the lower edge of the skirt is a small perforated projection.

A jade plaque in the Fogg Museum presents a dancer in the same general pose as that on the Freer pendant.

The Fogg plaque, however, is considerably more geometric in form, with conspicuous, even crude, drill holes indicating how the openwork designs were worked.¹ Even more abstract is the ivory plaque found in a Western Han tomb near Nan-ch'ang, Kiangsi Province.²

Tibor Horvath illustrates a jade dancing figure, which he assigns to the Warring States period.³

1. Loehr, *Jades*, p. 282, no. 412.
2. *KKHP*, no. 2 (1976): 171–86, pl. 6:2.
3. Horvath, "Four Archaic Chinese Jade Carvings," *Az írásművészeti múzeum évkönyvei* 7 (1964): 184, fig. 4a–b.

- 80 Jade pendant
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Height 9.9 cm (3¹⁵/₁₆ in)
32.40

Thicker than the other feline ornaments in the collection, this example equals them in the dramatic contrast of curvilinear forms. Only the head and legs of the feline retain features that can be associated with the animal world, and those are subordinated to a series of broad curls, particularly in the long pointed tail, that reflects the artist's preoccupation with abstract design. Incised lines, which provide accents on the highly polished light tan surface, are not identical on both sides of the piece. A perforation through the leaf-shaped projection on the feline's head would have enabled the piece to be suspended.¹

Comparison of the Freer pendant with a piece in the Fogg Museum supports a common provenance.² The Fogg pendant is illustrated by William Charles White and by Umehara Sueji, and on that basis, the Freer ornament can tentatively be associated with the jade pieces said to have been found at Chin-ts'un, near Loyang, Honan Province.³

Another related jade pendant has been published by Na Chih-liang.⁴

1. For discussion of the Freer jade, see Salmony, *Carved Jades*, pl. XLVII:3; Umehara, *Shina kogyoku zuroku*, pl. LXXXI:1; Mizuno, *BEJ*, pl. 163f.

2. Lochr, *Jades*, p. 303, no. 443.

3. White, *Tombs*, pl. CXXXVIII:316; Umehara, *Rakuyō*, pl. LXXXVI:3.

4. *Chinese Jades: Archaic and Modern from the Minneapolis Institute of Arts* (Tokyo, 1977), pl. 134.

- 81 Jade pendant
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Length 6.6 cm (2⁵/₈ in)
39.18

A feline creature seen in profile stands with one paw resting on the inner side of its curling body. While the quality of modeling remains the same throughout the composition, the intensity of expression provided by the bulging eye and bared fangs, as well as the complex designs formed by the contours of the creature's mouth and curling mane, dominate the form. By contrast, the remaining elements of the composition appear lax and unimpressive.

A small hole bored beneath the extended ear would have been used to suspend the ornament. The tail is broken.

Although the ornament traditionally is said to have been found at Shou-chou, Anhui Province, related pieces have been published as coming from Chin-ts'un, near Loyang, Honan Province.¹

1. White, *Tombs*, pl. CXXVIII:316c; Umehara, *Rakuyō*, pl. LXXXV:4. See also Salmony, *Chinese*, pl. 22:6.

- 82 Jade pendant
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Length 7.7 cm (3¹/₁₆ in)
39.17

Almost lost in the complex arrangement of curvilinear forms, a head and paw identify the leonine creature as the subject of the composition. Plumes rising from the creature's head, an extended dewlap, and a pointed tail emphasize pure abstraction rather than descriptive realism. The edges of the ornament are slightly raised, with incised outlines repeating many of the principal contours. A small perforation just above the creature's head was used for suspension.¹

1. For a brief discussion of the ornament, see Salmony, *Chinese*, pl. 22:7.

- 83 Jade pendant
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Diameter 7.0 cm (2¾ in)
39.33

A pair of addorsed felines grasping curling ruffs in their open mouths appears at the top of the composition. Their bodies arch outward to form an open ring; on either side a single leg with musculature rendered in low relief is bent inside the ring. The transition from the sleek stylized feline heads to the purely abstract, geometric ring is made less abrupt by narrow concave bands that follow the outer edges of the ring and then overlap the surface, which is ornamented with linked spirals modeled in low relief. Within the ring the overlapping bands end in T-shaped curls that complement the reticulated pattern

stated by the feline paws. These T-shaped motifs are echoed in the reticulated designs formed by the feline jaws.

Suspension holes drilled through the edges of the feline crests indicate that the ornament was used as a pendant. Both surfaces of the ornament are highly polished. Two breaks on the necks of the felines have been repaired.¹

The ornament traditionally is said to have come from Shou-chou, Anhui Province. Although that provenance is reasonable, the identification of comparable jade pieces said to have been found at Chin-ts'un, near Lo-yang, Honan Province, raises the possibility of an alternate site.²

1. For a brief discussion of the Freer jade, see Salmony, *Chinese*, pl. 24:2.

2. Umehara, *Rakuyō*, pls. LXXXIV:3, LXXXV:4, 5.

- 84 Jade pendant
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Diameter 9.5 cm (3¾ in)
31.16

At either end of the semicircular pendant is a simply rendered animal head. The contours of the larger head are outlined by a narrow raised band. Slightly wider bands define both edges of the pendant, interrupted only by the smaller head at the opposite end and by a long, slender leg and birdlike claw. A curving line running through the center of the semicircular pendant is embellished by incised curls and crosshatching. Some portions of the design are unclear, probably as the result of alteration. A single perforation in the upper edge at the center of the body would have been used to suspend the piece. In the

nostril of the larger mask is a second perforation.¹

Umehara Sueji reproduces the ornament in his book on artifacts associated with the Chin-ts'un tombs, near Loyang, Honan Province.²

A pendant of similar size in the Bull collection is decorated with motifs in low relief. That piece also has perforations at the top of the arc and in the nostril of the larger terminal mask.³

1. The ornament has been discussed by Salmony, *Carved Jades*, pl. XLI:2; Umehara, *Shina kogyoku zuroku*, pl. LXXVIII:4.

2. Umehara, *Rakuyō*, pl. LXXXV:7.

3. Salmony, *Chinese*, pl. XXIII:3.

- 85 Jade pendant
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Length 12.8 cm (5¼ in)
32.38

In shape and size, this pendant is similar to another jade piece in the Freer collection (see cat. no. 86). At either end of the crescent-shaped pendant are monster masks in profile. A series of rounded projections that delineate the masks add variety to the silhouette of the piece. Linked curls in low relief decorate the central portion of the pendant, which is perforated for suspension.¹

The high luster, tan color and extraordinary quality of workmanship of this jade are similar to those features on a number of pieces said to have been found in the Warring States tombs at Chin-ts'un, near Lo-

Cat. no. 85

Cat. no. 86

yang, Honan Province. A possible Chin-ts'un provenance for this pendant is given tentative support by its inclusion in Umehara Sueji's study of artifacts reported to be from that site.² Related jade pendants are illustrated by Na Chih-liang³ and in the report of finds from Hui Hsien, Honan Province.⁴

1. Salmony included the Freer pendant in *Carved Jades*, pl. XL:1.
2. Umehara, *Rakuyō*, pl. LXXXIX:5.
3. Na Chih-liang, *Chinese Jades*, p. 104, no. 110.
4. Hui Hsien, pl. 54:6-7.

- 86 Jade pendant
Warring States period, 5th-4th
centuries B.C.
Length 14.2 cm (5⁵/₈ in)
39.29

Monster masks appear in profile at either end of the crescent-shaped pendant. Details of the masks, which include ears, eyes, and muzzles, are modeled in low relief; the contours of the mask provide some variation in the smooth, curving outline of the upper portion of the ornament and complement the symmetrical curvilinear openwork on the lower edge. Linear motifs further embellish the masks and foliate scrolls. Linked curls in lower relief decorate the central portion of the pendant. A small perforation in the center of the piece would have enabled it to be suspended. Alteration has turned the sur-

face of the jade ornament a mat whitish color. The pendant was broken in half at the center and subsequently repaired.

The pendant traditionally is said to have been found at Shou-chou, Anhui Province. Some jade pieces associated with Shou-chou are similar to the Freer ornament.¹ The ornament, however, is also stylistically related to objects said to have come from the tombs at Chin-ts'un, near Loyang, Honan Province, leaving the provenance of the Freer pendant open to further study.²

1. Karlbeck, "Selected Objects from Ancient Shou-chou," pl. 62:1-3.
2. White, *Tombs*, pls. CXXIV:309, CXXV.

- 87 Jade pendant
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Length 11.2 cm (4⁷/₁₆ in)
32.39

Feline heads turning upward to seize their curling manes provide animated terminal motifs on the jade pendant. As in many jade pendants of this general type, the clearly incised eyes betray the felines' identity; other facial features are so abstractly rendered as to merge imperceptibly with the broad, purely geometric forms of the ornament. In this pendant, those forms include a pair of bold, inward-turning curls with a symmetrical vase-shaped element at the center. The distinctive vase motif appears on a contemporary jade piece in the Fogg Museum.¹ The curving horizontal band that joins all parts of the

pendant is ornamented with linked curls rendered in low relief. Small perforations at the center of the upper and lower edges of the piece would have been used to suspend the ornament and to link it with other pieces of jade.

Umehara Sueji provides a tentative Chin-ts'un provenance for the pendant.²

1. Loehr, *Jades*, p. 345, no. 511.
2. Umehara, *Rakuyō*, pl. LXXXIV:3. The pendant has also been illustrated and discussed in several other studies: Salmony, *Carved Jades*, pl. XL:2; Umehara, *Shina kogyoku zuroku*, pl. LXXXII:6; Mizuno, *BEJ*, pl. 162d.

- 88 Jade pendant
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Diameter 9.7 cm (3¹³/₁₆ in)
18.42

This simple crescent-shaped pendant is decorated with a stylized dragon head at one end and incised linear motifs on both flat surfaces. Extensive abrasion and alteration have affected the surfaces, making it difficult to decipher the decoration in some areas. A small loop in the outer edge of the pendant is carefully finished. The tip of the pointed end of the piece is broken.

The pendant probably was one of a pair and originally may have formed part of a larger ensemble (see cat. no. 77). In shape and design, it is related to a more elaborate pendant in the Freer collection (cat. no. 89). Two

jade pendants unearthed in tomb 269, at Fen-shui-ling, Ch'ang-chih, Shansi Province, should be mentioned in relation to the Freer examples.¹ Some indication of the complexity of Warring States period pendants of this general type is provided by an example in the Sonnenschein collection.²

1. *KKHP*, no. 2 (1974): pl. 5:4.

2. Salmony, *Archaic Chinese Jades from the Edvard and Louise B. Sonnenschein Collection*, pl. LXXVIII:1.

- 89 Jade pendant
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Diameter 8.9 cm (3½ in)
18.43

This tan gray nephrite pendant is in the form of a crescent, with an abstract dragon head at one end. Simply incised motifs cover the heavily abraded surfaces. Larger areas of the pendant have altered to a chalky white. Special attention appears to have been given to the finishing of the loop on the outside edge of the pendant. This pendant presumably was part of a larger assemblage that would have been suspended by a chain (see cat. no. 77).

- 90 Jade pendant
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Length 9.0 cm (3⁹/₁₆ in)
39.30

A pair of rampant dragons flanking a cusped projection forms the theme of the composition. The extreme torsion of the dragons is emphasized by the flamboyant gestures of their legs and clawed feet. The rounded muscular bodies of the dragons also enhance the suggestion of pent-up energy. By contrast, the curvilinear plumes that embellish the basically triangular contours of the pendant are purely decorative, lending an element of playful fantasy to the composition. Fine, curled motifs incised on the jade surface enrich the textural qualities of the elegantly reticulated piece; boldly worked serpentine motifs on the

haunches of each of the dragons echo the striated curling tails. Two small perforations at the middle of the top and bottom edges of the pendant would have been used to suspend or to attach the piece.

The rich, irregularly patterned white and purple gray color of the jade adds an unexpected yet appealing asymmetry to the composition. The piece has been broken and mended in three places.¹

The pendant is said to have come from Shou-chou, Anhui Province. While there is no way to verify that provenance, it is reasonable.

1. The Freer pendant has been illustrated and discussed by Salmony, *Chinese*, pl. XXIV:3.

- 91 Jade pendant
Warring States period, 4th–3d
centuries B.C.
Height 7.2 cm ($2\frac{1}{16}$ in); width 1.45
cm ($\frac{1}{32}$ in)
32.42

The small rectangular pendant, obviously part of a larger assemblage, reflects the elegance that must have characterized each element of the whole. The outer edges of the pendant are delineated by a narrow, slightly raised rim. Shallow indentations into the rim form a crenellated pattern that emphasizes the sharp, meticulous workmanship. Linked curls in low relief decorate both surfaces of the pendant. Pointed projections at the long ends of the piece are perforated for suspension.

Umehara Sueji attributed the Freer pendant to Chin-ts'un, near Lo-yang, Honan Province.¹

1. Umehara, *Rakuyō*, pl. LXXXVIII:55, where it is incorrectly said to be in the Winthrop collection. Alfred Salmony illustrates the pendant in *Carved Jades*, pl. XLVI:7.

- 92 Jade ornament
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Diameter 2.7 cm ($\frac{1}{16}$ in)
39.27

Both sides of the eccentrically pierced ornament are decorated with intertwined serpentine creatures. Circular eyes and simply modeled ears identify the two heads; pairs of curved lines and crosshatching decorate the bodies. The repetition of curved lines suggests a broad, fishlike scale pattern. A small incised circle provides a focal point around which the serpentine bodies are intertwined.

The original use of the ornament is uncertain. It may have been a finger ring that was later bored for suspension. The small perforation is crudely worked, indicating that it was added later.

Cat. no. 94

- 93 Jade ornament
Warring States period, 4th–3d
centuries B.C.
Length 5.4 cm (2 $\frac{1}{8}$ in)
39.26

The surface of the grayish, translucent nephrite has some chalky opaque areas. One face of the ornament is decorated with relief and engraved motifs; the other is unfinished.

The shape of the ornament is based on the form of an archer's thumb ring (see cat. nos. 110–12) and, in that connection, the ornament may have retained a symbolic significance that increased its value as a piece of decoration. While the marginal embellishments on the right side seem to arise freely from the contour of the thumb ring form, those on the left appear to be confined by an exterior, straight base line. It has been pro-

posed that the ornament may have been meant to be mounted in a setting, a suggestion that is further supported by the fact that the reverse side is unfinished and unpolished.

The ornament traditionally is said to have been found at Shou-chou, Anhui Province.

The Freer ornament can be seen as a transitional form between an archer's thumb ring of the Warring States period and a type of pendant that had evolved by the Eastern Han. Hayashi Minao discusses this development. After reviewing the circumstances of several archaeological finds in which jade pendants were unearthed near jade discs and seals and bronze mirrors and daggers, Hayashi suggests that the term *chu'eh* should be applied to Han dynasty pendants rather than to jade earrings, as is usually done.¹ In addition to the examples cited by

Hayashi, two fine pieces were unearthed in a Western Han tomb at Hsiao-kuei-shan, T'ung-shan, Kiangsu Province.²

1. Hayashi, "Haigyoku to jū," pp. 16–20.
2. *WW*, no. 4 (1973): 24, 34, figs. 8:10, 43–44.

- 94 Two jade combs
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Height 6.6 cm (2 $\frac{5}{8}$ in)
30.28–29

Semicircular openwork frames provide supports for the evenly-spaced teeth of the combs. Composed of fluted outer bands and symmetrical foliate designs, the frames, which are

Drawing of ivory comb from Ta-wen-k'ou, Shantung Province (after *Ta-wen-k'ou*, p. 95).

Rubbings of jade combs from tomb 5, Anyang, Honan Province (after *Fu-hao*, p. 149).

Drawings of wooden combs with painted decoration from P'ai-ma-shan, Chiang-ling, Hupei Province (after *KK*, no. 3 [1973]: 158).

embellished on both sides, reflect the degree of luxury attained by the nobility during the Warring States period. The relatively small size and elaborate decoration of these jade combs suggest that they might also have served as hair ornaments.

Umehara Sueji illustrates the Freer combs in *Rakuyō Kinson kobo shūci*, thereby suggesting that they were found at Chin-ts'un, near Loyang, Honan Province.¹ No archaeological evidence supports that provenance.

In ancient China, combs were made of bone, jade, stone, wood, bronze, ivory, and bamboo. Among the earliest combs still extant are two ivory examples from the late Neolithic site of Ta-wen-k'ou, Shantung Province.² Bone and ivory combs were found at the Shang site of Anyang, Honan Province.³ The late Neolithic and Shang examples are

more elaborate in shape and design than the two Warring States examples in the Freer collection. A number of wooden and ivory combs found in Warring States period and Han dynasty tombs are similar to the Freer examples.⁴ It appears that by the Warring States period this shape was common, although a few more elaborately decorated examples have also been found.

1. Umehara, *Rakuyō*, pl. LXXX:1-2.

Alfred Salmony includes the Freer combs in *Carved Jades*, pl. LII:2-3.

2. Shan-tung sheng wen-wu kuan-li-ch'ü et al., *Ta-wen-k'ou* (Peking, 1974), p. 95, fig. 78, pl. 90.

3. Umehara, *In-kyō* (Tokyo, 1964), pp. 84-85, pl. 140:6, fig. 36:1-4; *KKHP*, no. 2 (1977): 57-98, pl. 25:1; and *Fu-hao*, p. 149, fig. 78:3-4. For a bronze comb dating from the Shang dynasty, see *KK*, no.

4 (1972): 29, fig. 3. Several Western Chou period combs have been unearthed (see *KK*, no. 5 [1978]: pl. 2:4).

4. *Ch'u*, p. 23, nos. 32-37; *Ch'ang-sha Ma-wang-tui i-hao Han-mu*, 2: pl. 181.

- 95 Jade plaque
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Length 7.7 cm (3 $\frac{1}{16}$ in)
31.15

Two addorsed dragons, their heads raised and turned inward, constitute the theme of this semicircular, tan openwork jade plaque. At the center of the plaque, undulating dragon bodies are linked above and below by bands of differing widths. The outer contours are notched to coincide with the configurations of the dragon bodies, and the interior is pierced by a series of small, precisely designed apertures. Throughout the complex design, however, the basic semicircular shape of the plaque remains unchanged.

Incised, curvilinear motifs, some further embellished with fine stria-

tions and crosshatching, decorate the surface of the plaque. On one side, the surface of the plaque has altered, making the designs less visible. On that same side are two incomplete drill holes. The absence of perforations suggests that the plaque was not used as a pendant. It is possible that it might have been inset into a metal or lacquer support.¹

Umehara Sueji includes this jade plaque with other artifacts that he believes are from the tombs at Chint's'un, near Loyang, Honan Province.² Umehara also illustrates³ a small jade plaque now in the Fogg Museum.⁴ The design and workmanship of the Freer and Fogg pendants are so closely related as to suggest that the two pieces might have been made in the same workshop.

1. The plaque is illustrated in the following studies: Salmony, *Carved Jades*, pl. XL:4; Umehara, *Sengoku*, pl. 123:3; Mizuno, *B&J*, pl. 163a.

2. Umehara, *Rakuyō*, pl. LXXXC:1.

3. *Ibid.*, pl. LXXXV:2.

4. Lochr, *Jades*, pl. 341, no. 504. An inferior version of the Fogg plaque was included in the Frederick Mayer sale catalogue (New York, 1973), colorpl. facing p. 308, no. 185. Another version of the same plaque is illustrated in the fifteenth anniversary volume of the Idemitsu Museum (Tokyo), no. 1101.

32.43

- 96 Two jade plaques
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
32.43: length 14.6 cm (5¾ in), height
5.5 cm (2¼ in), depth 0.4 cm (⅝₃₂
in); 32.44: length 14.8 cm (5⅞₁₆ in),
height 6.1 cm (2⅞₁₆ in), depth 0.5 cm
(⅜₁₆ in)
32.43–44

The compactness with which the tigers are conceived, with heads down, legs drawn up closely under the bodies, and tails neatly curled at the backs, reflects the artisan's concern with utilizing the nephrite to the fullest extent possible. Although of approximately the same size, the plaques are not identical, and the differences can be seen most readily in the subtle variations in the sizes and shapes of the openings along the lower portions that define the gaping

mouths, legs, and tails. It is the plastic rendering of the eyes, fangs, and claws that specifically identifies the creatures as tigers, since the major portions of their bodies are almost completely abstract shapes.

The surfaces of the mottled nephrite are embellished with delicately modeled raised spirals; a more complex design based on curls and circles appears on the rear haunches. Fine spiral forms enliven the highly polished portions of the masks, front haunches, and tails. A tall bird appears on one of the front haunches of one tiger (32.43).

Perforations are placed in the top center of each plaque. Those perforations probably were used to secure the plaques to another surface, since the pieces are too large to be suspended or included as part of a larger assemblage.¹

William Charles White illustrates the Freer plaques among those jades said to have been unearthed at Chint's'un near Loyang, Honan Province.² The quality and style of the workmanship would support that provenance. A pair of jade tiger plaques in the Fogg Museum is represented with more angular contours, suggesting a slightly earlier date than the pair in the Freer collection.³ Of the same length as those in the Freer is another pair of jade tiger plaques found in tomb 1 at Hsia-ssu, Hsi-ch'uan Hsien, Honan Province, a Ch'u site dating from the late Spring and Autumn period.⁴ More serpentine in their overall composition, the plaques from Hsia-ssu display the same emphasis on heads and tails, with legs drawn up beneath the bodies.

32.44

1. The Freer plaques have been illustrated and discussed by a number of scholars, including Salmony, *Carved Jades*, pl. XLIV:2; idem, *Chinese*, pl. 22:5; Hansford, *Chinese Carved Jade*, pl. 48; Sirén, *Kinas Konst under Tre Artusenden*, 1: pl. 54:b.

2. White, *Tombs*, pl. CXXVIII:316a-b. Umehara also reproduces them in *Rakuyō*, pl. LXXXIII.

3. Loehr, *Jades*, pp. 300-301.

4. Ho-nan sheng po-wu-kuan et al., "Ho-nan Hsi-ch'uan Hsia-ssu i-hao-mu fa-chüeh chien-pao," pp. 119-27, pl. 8:4.

- 97 Jade plaque
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Height 4.6 cm (1¹³/₁₆ in); width 7.5
cm (2¹⁵/₁₆ in)
49.16

A feline creature with an undulating serpentine body is shown with head, tail, and legs arranged in a nearly compact pose that emphasizes the basically rectangular format. Narrow raised bands enclose the contours of the plaque; a series of similar bands appear on the mane, tail, and feet. Various incised designs, suggesting scales and fur, embellish the surface of the plaque. The openwork decoration includes a circular aperture at the mouth that might have been used to suspend the plaque. Judging from the rectangular shape of the piece, it might also have been attached to an-

other surface.

The fine, tan color and lustrous finish of the jade may explain the traditional Chin-ts'un provenance, which, however, is unverifiable.

- 98 Jade plaque
Warring States period, 4th–3d
centuries B.C.
Length 5.5 cm (2³/₁₆ in)
39.22

A monster mask—indicated by eyes, nostrils, and pointed ears incised in low relief—appears at one end of the plaque. The remainder of the design, consisting of curvilinear bands symmetrically arranged, might be interpreted as an elaborate plumed crest. Simply incised lines (including a pair of cowries), crosshatching, and paired outlines enhance the surface of the piece. There are no perforations on the plaque, which probably was meant to be set into a mounting.

The traditional Shou-chou attribution is unverifiable.

16.514

16.758

- 99 Two jade plaques
Warring States period, 4th–3d
centuries B.C.
Diameter, each, 25.0 cm ($9\frac{1}{16}$ in);
width at center, each, 3.2 cm ($1\frac{1}{32}$ in)
16.514, 16.758

Fashioned of dark gray green nephrite, the surfaces of the two plaques have areas of earth encrustations that obscure their original polish. Some indication of the high luster is still evident on the narrow edges of the pieces. Incised low relief spirals are arranged in geometric grids and enclosed by linear borders that follow the outer contours of the plaques. Enhancing the edges of both pieces are symmetrical crenellations. Each plaque has a small perforation at the top center and on the lower flat edge of the arcs. Both plaques are chipped.

The large size and crude workmanship—particularly apparent here in the way the grid lines penetrate the outer borders—relate these two plaques to other jade pieces associated with the state of Ch'u (see cat. nos. 100–101).¹

1. See Fontein and Wu, *Unearthing China's Past*, p. 86; *KK*, no. 12 (1959): 660, fig. 5; *HW*, no. 9 (1964): 29, fig. 5:5; *Ch'u*, pl. 28:54–55.

- 100 Jade plaque
Warring States period, 4th–3d
centuries B.C.
Height 9.1 cm ($3\frac{5}{8}$ in); width 12.2
cm ($4\frac{3}{16}$ in)
17.376

The thin, tan gray nephrite plaque depicts a coiling dragon with head and tail arching backward to join the central curve of the body. A series of curvilinear forms accents the interior curves of the composition. The contours of the dragon body are repeated by incised lines on both sides of the plaque; the main section is covered with raised spiral patterns organized on a grid system. A small conical perforation in the center of the back probably was the means by which the plaque was secured to another surface. The large size of the piece makes it unlikely that it was ever

used as a pendant, and the flat edges that interrupt the rounded contours support the suggestion that the plaque was inset into another surface. Several portions of the plaque are broken, and the edges are chipped.¹

Although the plaque traditionally is said to have been found in Shensi Province, the somewhat ungainly silhouette of the dragon and perfunctorily incised outlines are characteristic features found on a number of related jade pieces unearthed in ancient Ch'u territory.²

1. Umehara Sueji includes the Freer plaque in *Shina kogyoku zuroku*, pl. 91, center.

2. Fontein and Wu discuss several representative jades from the state of Ch'u in *Unearthing China's Past*, p. 86.

- 101 Jade plaque
Warring States period, 3d century B.C.
Height 17.0 cm (6 $\frac{1}{16}$ in); length 26.3
cm (10 $\frac{3}{8}$ in)
17.372

The thin, dark green nephrite plaque is remarkable for its large size. In contrast to the other dragon plaques in the catalogue, the silhouette of the piece is less taut, and the two pendant forms suggest legs that counterbalance the curve of the head and tail. Incised lines define, in the most casual manner, the textures of mane and tail; incised spirals ornament the body of the dragon. A small perforation in the back of the piece probably provided the means for attaching it to another surface, the larger perforations at the mouth and curling projections may have also served the same purpose.

Although the plaque traditionally

was said to have been found in Shensi Province and date from the Shang dynasty, it is closely related to jades that have been unearthed in ancient Ch'u territory.¹

1. See Fontein and Wu, *Unearthing China's Past*, p. 86; *KK*, no. 12 (1959): 660, fig. 5; *WW*, no. 9 (1964): 29, fig. 5.5; *Ch'u*, pl. 28:54-55.

- 102 Jade winged cup, type *yü-shang*
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Length 13.2 cm (5 $\frac{1}{16}$ in)
31.19

The outer surface of the cup is decorated with a pattern of interlocked relief spirals, which are arranged more densely toward the base. Bands of reversed T-shaped motifs at the lip and base of the cup enclose the spirals. Laterally placed handles on either of the long sides of the cup are decorated with openwork spirals and raised spiral motifs. On the interior bottom of the cup is a simple symmetrical oval design; a pair of curvilinear birds within an oval frame appears on the exterior bottom.¹

Although oval winged cups of this type were made in lacquer, bronze, pottery, and mother-of-pearl shell as

early as the late Eastern Chou and Han, jade examples are extremely rare. The closest parallel to the Freer cup is the pair in the Fogg Museum, which is said to have come from Chin-ts'un, near Loyang, Honan Province.² In a letter dated November 22, 1934, Bishop William Charles White reports, however, that the Freer cup definitely did not come from Chin-ts'un but from an unspecified site in central Shantung Province.³

An unusual gilt silver *yü-shang* is reported to have been unearthed at Chin-ts'un.⁴ In his discussion of the silver winged cup, Nagahiro Toshio points out that lacquered wooden insets were originally fitted into the depressions on the undersides of the handles.⁵ Perhaps those insets were meant to make the handling of the cup more comfortable when it con-

tained heated liquids. Two characters appear on the outer base of the cup.⁶

Winged cups continued to be made of precious metals as late as the T'ang dynasty. A silver cup with engraved gilt floral decoration was among the T'ang dynasty hoard found in 1970 at Ho-chi-ts'un, Sian, Shensi Province.⁷

1. The Freer cup has been discussed by a number of scholars. Among the most important of those statements are Hansford, *Chinese Jade Carving*, pp. 113–14, pl. XIXa; idem., *Chinese Carved Jade*, pl. 39b; Salmony, *Carved Jades*, pl. LV:2; Sirén, *Kinas Konst under Tre Artusenden*, 2: pl. 57b; Umebara, *Shina kogyoku zuroku*, pl. 59.

2. Loehr, *Jades*, no. 522.

3. Freer Gallery of Art Archives. Umebara Sueji, however, includes the Freer cup in his book on objects from Chin-ts'un, *Rakuyō*, pl. LXXVIII.

4. Umehara, *Rakuyō*, pl. XXIII; Nagahiro, *Seikai bijitsu zenshū*, vol. 12, *Yin Chou Chan-kuo* (Tokyo, 1962), pl. 77.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 236.

6. Umehara, *Rakuyō*, p. 23, deciphers the characters as *kan hsiao*, but Bernhard Karlgren suggests *kan-yu* ("Notes on a Kin-ts'un Album," p. 76). Jung Keng also interprets the characters as *kan-yu* (*Shang Chou i-ch'i t'ung-k'ao*, p. 455, pl. 427).

7. *Wen-hua ta-ko-ming ch'i-chien ch'u-t'u wen-wu*, p. 50.

103 Jade cup
Warring States period, 5th–4th centuries B.C.
Height 9.6 cm ($3\frac{13}{16}$ in); width 11.1 cm ($4\frac{3}{8}$ in)
30.31

In shape, the cup resembles ritual bronze vessels of the type *i*, a comparison suggesting that the spout was meant for pouring. The shaped foot of the Freer cup appears to be an innovation of the jade craftsman, since that detail is not found on metal versions. An incised wide band of interlocked double spirals ornaments the exterior of the cup. An inverted *t'ao-t'ieh*, or monster mask, is engraved beneath the protruding lip. Incised decoration on the flat edge of the lip suggests that it was meant to be seen as a further, plastic extension of the *t'ao-t'ieh* mask.¹ The jade cup is said

to have been found at Chin-ts'un, near Loyang, Honan Province.²

Two silver cups of similar shape are also given a Chin-ts'un provenance. There are two-character inscriptions on the outer bases of the cups.³

1. The Freer cup has been illustrated and discussed by Hansford, *Chinese Jade Carving*, p. 114, pl. XIXb; Salmony, *Carved Jade of Ancient China*, pl. LVII:1; Sirén, *Kinas Konst under Tre Artusenden*, 1: pl. 57a; Umehara, *Shina kogyoku zuroku*, pl. 60; Hansford, *Chinese Carved Jades*, pl. 38b; Umehara, *Rakuyō*, pl. LXXX:3.

2. White, *Tombs*, p. 131.

3. Umehara, *Rakuyō*, pls. XXIV–XXV, top; Umehara reads the characters as *kan hsiao*; Bernhard Karlgren believes them to be *kan-yu* ("Notes on a Kin-ts'un Album," p. 76). Three silver pieces, including the two cups, said to have come from Chin-ts'un are reproduced by Mizuno, *BEJ*, pl. 154A.

- 104 Jade handle
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Length 11.3 cm (4½ in)
30.30

The long, slender oval handle is perforated vertically from one end. That perforation stops short of the opposite end, which is embellished with a large, partially damaged eyelet. Incised curls arranged in a precise grid pattern decorate the surface of the handle; fine horizontal and vertical lines linking the curls lend variety to the overall design. Openwork flanges project from the narrow sides of the handle. On one side, the decoration is based on a highly stylized bird; on the other, there is an attenuated tiger. Behind the tiger's twisting, fluted tail is an abstract leaf form. Details such as the tiger's eyes and body muscula-

ture are rendered in low relief. Incised into the surface of the jade are additional details, including a cowrie collar and foliate embellishments. Small holes are bored through the head of the bird and forepaws of the dragon.

The tiger's head extends beyond the end of the handle. Assuming that the handle would have been held vertically, the position of the tiger is similar to that of bronze animals cast as handles on late Eastern Chou bronze vessels.¹ One of the most impressive of those bronze creatures is the dragon formerly in the Stoclet collection.²

Both William Charles White and Umehara Sueji include the Freer handle among those jade objects said to have been found at Chin-ts'un, near Loyang, Honan Province.³

The combination of a bird and feline on opposite sides of a jade sheath

dated to the third to second centuries B.C. provides an informative comparison with the Freer handle.⁴

1. For example, see *Great Bronze*, pls. 71–75, figs. 89–90.

2. Visser, *Asiatic Art*, pls. 29–31.

3. White, *Tombs*, pl. CXXIV:309; Umehara, *Rakuyō*, pl. LXXXIV:1. See also Salmony, *Carved Jades*, pl. XXXV:4; Mizuno, *BEJ*, pl. 162e; Hansford, *Chinese Carved Jades*, pl. 36b.

4. Ayers and Rawson, *Chinese Jade throughout the Ages*, p. 54, no. 135.

- 105 Jade ceremonial blade, type *hu*
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Length 19.0 cm (7½ in)
Gift of Eugene and Agnes E. Meyer
68.38

The trapezoidal blade of highly polished buff and light brown nephrite has a wide border with stylized decoration on three sides. The taut design, consisting of a series of horned dragon heads seen in silhouette, is carved only on the face of the blade. One dragon head is placed at each of the four corners. Interlaced tripartite raised bands connect the animal heads at the corners with those along the lower edge of the blade. Twisting, striated lines, applied with no apparent order, provide some variation to the plain raised bands. With one incomplete exception, these striated

lines occur only on the right half of the blade, suggesting that the ornamentation is unfinished. One large and five small conical perforations, connected by surprisingly crude straight lines, occur on the plain inner surface of the blade.¹

The Freer blade, derived from a Neolithic stone harvesting knife, is an example of the remarkable persistence of China's lithic industry into historical times. It provides an early example of archaism—the reinterpretation of antique forms and styles—an aspect of Chinese art that has continued to the present day. Shang and Western Chou period *hu* blades generally preserve the overall shape of their Neolithic prototypes, with the characteristic concave cutting edge and perforations for hafting. Minor changes do occur, of course, reflecting a shift in emphasis from ritual to

secular antiquarian appreciation. By the Warring States period, as illustrated in the Freer example, the original trapezoidal *hu* shape has been embellished on three edges with a decorative band that has no equivalent in earlier periods.

There is a virtually identical blade in a private American collection.

1. The Freer blade has been illustrated and discussed by Salmony, *Carved Jades*, pl. LX:1; and Umehara, *Sengoku*, fig. 33.

- 106 Jade scabbard chape ornament
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Height 6.8 cm (2 $\frac{1}{16}$ in)
39.16

Symmetrical in its basic design, the tan jade is animated by a series of subtle variations. Perhaps the most apparent of those variations can be seen in the different sizes of reticulated curls at the base of the ornament; violating the separation of individual motifs, one curl overlaps the central portion of the design thereby echoing the incised curls that so dominate the composition. The monster-mask elements at the top conform to the scale and arrangement of other parts of the ornamentation. As is typical of designs on chapes or chape ornaments, the monster mask is placed so as to appear right side up to the

wearer of the scabbard.

The plaque probably was one of a pair that would have ornamented a sword sheath. Small holes along the sides of the piece served to fasten the openwork plaque to the scabbard, which most likely would have been made of lacquered wood. Considering the difficulty of working jade and the fact that the surface attached to the sheath would rarely have been seen, it is remarkable that the inner, concave surface of the piece is as carefully decorated as is the outside, although the monster mask has been omitted.

The Shou-chou attribution for the ornament is not verifiable.

- 107 Jade scabbard chape, type *pi*
Warring States period, 4th–3d
centuries B.C.
Height 5.8 cm (2 $\frac{3}{16}$ in); width 5.5 cm
(2 $\frac{3}{16}$ in)
19.42

The flattened trapezoidal scabbard chape is thick at the center and tapers to thin blunt edges at the sides. A single shallow vertical hole has been drilled at the center of the upper lenticular surface; a smaller hole, awkwardly drilled, penetrates either side of the central opening. Fashioned of semitranslucent jade, the surface of the chape is mottled greenish white, black, and cream. One side has an irregular surface that has altered to a white opaque. The present roughened appearance of the chape obscures the subtle proportions and lustrous finish—important features when the

piece was originally made.¹

That jade pieces of this shape served as ornaments for sword scabbards is demonstrated by recent archaeological finds.² On most jade scabbard chapes, the large central hole is flanked by smaller obliquely drilled holes that connect with the central one. Usually there is a single hole on either side, but instances in which there are two holes are also known.

1. The Freer scabbard is said to have been in the collection of the Ch'ing dynasty official Tuan-fang (1861–1911), but it is not included in his catalogue, *T'ao-chai ku-yü t'u*.

2. *KKHP*, no. 4 (1956): 1–20, fig. 19:7–8, pl. 6:6; *Ch'u*, pl. 74:2.

108 Jade scabbard chape, type *pi*
Warring States period, 4th–3d
centuries B.C.
Height 4.6 cm ($1\frac{13}{16}$ in); width at
base 5.8 cm ($2\frac{5}{16}$ in)
19.41

Fashioned of translucent mottled jade, the trapezoidal chape tapers to thin edges at the sides. Geometric bands, framed within a narrow border, decorate the surfaces of the chape. Some portions of the symmetrical decoration are worked in low relief; others are indicated by incised lines, thereby providing subtle variations within the total composition. Signs of wear appear on the surface of the chape, the most conspicuous being a chip missing from the upper left corner.¹

A shallow central hole is bored into the top lenticular surface. Usually, on jade scabbard chapes of this type, two

smaller holes, drilled obliquely, connect with the central opening. Those smaller holes are missing on the Freer chape, suggesting that the piece might conceivably have served as a sword pommel. At least one instance of such a jade pommel is attested by archaeological finds.² The size of the Freer jade, however, supports its designation as a chape, in spite of the single hole. Two jade chapes related in shape and decoration to the Freer example were unearthed in a Warring States period context at the rich archaeological site of Yang-tzu-shan, near Ch'eng-tu, Szechwan Province.³

1. The scabbard chape is said to have been in the collection of the Ch'ing dynasty official Tuan-fang, but it is not included in his catalogue, *T'ao-chai ku-yü t'u*. Ume-hara Sueji illustrates the chape in *Shina kogyoku zuroku*, pl. 108:4.

2. *KK*, no. 2 (1974): 119, fig. 5:5, pl. 5:2.
3. *KKHP*, no. 4 (1956): 1–20, fig. 19:7–8, pl. VI:6.

- 109 Jade scepter, type *kuei*
Late Warring States period, 3d
centuries B.C.
Length 27.2 cm (10¾ in)
16.496

Fashioned of semitranslucent gray green nephrite, the slender *kuei* has a pointed top and straight base. In cross section, the form is an elongated diamond. Both faces of the *kuei* are decorated with raised spirals arranged in diagonal and horizontal rows and framed by a median crest and convex border around the edges. This *kuei* is said to have been unearthed in Shansi Province.¹

The characteristic pointed shape of late Eastern Chou *kuei* has prompted some scholars to suggest that it derives ultimately from the *ko*, or dagger ax. Perhaps the most speculative interpretation of the *kuei* is that given

by Howard Hansford, who suggests that the *kuei* used during the early and middle Chou actually were Shang dynasty jade *ko* captured at the time of the conquest, conferred by the Chou ruler on his feudal lords, and subsequently passed on to their successors as titles to their fiefs. Hansford also suggests that if insufficient Shang jade *ko* were available, facsimiles would have been made in the Chou dynasty to bestow on newly created nobles, and that some of those jades that have come down to us are, in fact, of Chou manufacture.²

Judging from the wide variety in the proportions of the fifty-nine *kuei* unearthed at Chung-chou-lu, Honan Province,³ there does not appear to have been any standard, even though the general shape of *kuei* was already well established by the Eastern Chou. A *kuei* from tomb 2145, assigned to

the Eastern Chou, provides a transitional form, since all edges, except the butt end, are beveled as with a *ko*. The perforation at the butt end also recalls those on jade *ko*.⁴

In his study of ceremonial jades in ancient China, Hayashi Minao identifies the Freer piece as a *ku-kuei*. According to Chinese texts, the *ku-kuei* was one of the jades used by the Chinese ruler when "settling conflicts" and "arranging marriages." A commentary by the Han dynasty scholar Cheng Hsüan (A.D. 127–200) stated that the *ku-kuei* was the symbol of a representative of the ruler and was decorated with a grain pattern. Hayashi stresses the rarity of this type of *kuei*, remarking that the Freer example is the only one known to him. He dates it to the late Warring States–early Han periods.⁵

1. Alfred Salmony includes the *kuei* in *Chinese*, pl. 15:1.
2. Hansford, *Chinese Carved Jades*, p. 62.
3. Lo-yang, p. 115.
4. Ibid., pl. 48:3.
5. Hayashi, "Chūgoku kodai no saigyoku zuigyoku," pp. 234–35.

- 110 Jade archer's ring
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Length 4.7 cm (1⁷/₈ in)
39.24

The oval shape of the piece is interrupted on the upper portion by two concave planes that form a point and an elegant curvilinear projection. The

Drawing of bone ring from Chung-chou-lu, Honan Province (after *Lo-yang*, fig. 98:7).

Drawing of jade ring from tomb 5 at Anyang, Honan Province (after *Fu-hao*, p. 194).

Rubbing of jade ring from Chung-chou-lu, Honan Province (after *Lo-yang*, fig. 82:8).

perforation, which occurs in the upper portion of the ring, is ovoid with a flattened segment at the bottom. Linked spirals modeled in low relief are incised on the shield-shaped surface of the ring. The smoothly finished concave back surface is decorated with incised, abstract curvilinear decoration; at the center is a long-tailed bird seen in profile. A small hole is drilled through the concave plane at the top of the ring. The surface of the piece is highly polished.

The Freer ring traditionally is said to have come from Shou-chou, Anhui Province. While that provenance is not verifiable, it is reasonable.¹ Also to be considered are those objects published by William Charles White as coming from Chin-ts'un, Honan Province. White illustrates two jade and one bone archer's rings; he also mentions that several other

rings were found at the site but does not illustrate them.² Umehara Sueji in *Rakuyō Kinson kobo shūei* includes a thumb ring similar to the Freer example.³ That thumb ring, now in the Fogg Museum, is discussed by Max Loehr.⁴

The earliest Chinese archer's thumb ring now extant was unearthed in the Shang dynasty tomb 5 at Anyang, Honan Province, in 1975–76. An animal mask in low relief dominates the outer surface of that ring, with the stylized body of a fantastic creature curving around the remaining portions.⁵ The sturdy proportions of the Anyang thumb ring suggest that it was meant for actual use, while the small size of the aperture on the Freer ring indicates that the piece may have been purely ornamental. In 1955 one jade and three bone archer's rings of this general type were unearthed near

the hands of skeletons in four separate tombs at the Chung-chou-lu site near Loyang, Honan Province.⁶

Several jade pieces very similar in shape and decoration to the Freer example have been described as musical picks.⁷

1. See Karlbeck, "Selected Objects from Ancient Shou-chou," pp. 41–130, pl. 62. Salmony includes the Freer piece in *Chinese*, pl. 17:1.

2. White, *Tombs*, pls. CXXXVIII–CXXXIX.

3. Umehara, *Rakuyō*, pl. LXXXVIII:3.

4. Loehr, *Jades*, p. 309, no. 452.

5. *Fu-hao*, pp. 194–95, figs. 97a–b, pl. 164:3–4.

6. *Lo-yang*, pp. 115–24, figs. 82:8, 98:7, pls. 72:4, 80:10.

7. *An Exhibition of Chinese Archaic Jades*, pl. XLIX:1, 3, 6–8.

111 Jade archer's ring
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Length 4.5 cm (1 $\frac{3}{8}$ in)
39.23

Of translucent cream nephrite with areas of opaque mottled tan, the archer's thumb ring is completely symmetrical, with the exception of the stylized foliate projection in the upper right. Two concave planes, pierced by a small perforation, join to form a point over the central oval aperture. Linked spirals modeled in low relief and arranged symmetrically on either side of the raised median crest decorate the pointed shield-shaped portion of the ring. On the highly polished surfaces are curvilinear motifs, including a veined leaf at the apex of the front surface and an elegantly intertwined bird with striated tail accents on the back.

The archer's ring is traditionally said to have been found at Shou-chou, Anhui Province.

112 Jade archer's ring
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Length 4.5 cm (1 $\frac{3}{8}$ in)
39.25

Of the archer's rings in the Freer collection, the decoration of this example is the most detailed. The projection in the upper right of the thumb ring is in the form of a realistically modeled bird standing with one leg supported by a raised curl on the descending foliate blade. A plumed tail extends behind the bird embellishing the two planes that form a point at the top of the piece. A perforation runs through the crest of the ring. The abstract forms that appear on these same areas of the other jade rings in the collection probably are derived from more realistic forms of this type. For example, the single

loop of the tail that extends onto the upper back surface of the ring may be the source of the simple circle that appears in that same position on another Freer jade ring (cat. no. 111). Linked spirals modeled in low relief and in a generally symmetrical arrangement on either side of a median crest are incised on the shield-shaped portion of the ring. Incised foliate forms, again symmetrical in arrangement, decorate the smoothly finished concave back surface.

- 113 Jade garment hook
Warring States period, 4th–3d
centuries B.C.
Length 9.2 cm (3⁵/₈ in)
15.231

Fashioned from cream nephrite, the body of the garment hook is an elongated rectangle, with rounded corners, that tapers toward the hook. The upper face of the body is decorated with a raised spiral motif framed by a concave border. Five notches accent the contours of the double concave bands that ornament the sides of the hook piece. Notches of this type, which frequently occur on jade carvings dating from the Warring States period, probably were used to emphasize the sharp edges that are characteristic of late Eastern Chou jade workmanship. The hook itself is shaped as an animal head,

with features modeled in high relief. A plain oval button is placed transversally on the back.

Similar jade belt hooks are in other Western collections.¹

1. Loehr, *Jades*, no. 465; Salmony, *Chinese*, pl. XVII, 3a–b.

114 Jade garment hook
Warring States period, 4th–3d
centuries B.C.
Length 13.1 cm ($5\frac{1}{16}$ in)
48.13

The front of the slender cream-colored body of the garment hook is ornamented with finely modeled spirals, enclosed within a plain convex border. The regularity of the arrangement of the spirals—in precise diagonal and horizontal rows—is counterbalanced by lines that occasionally link two of them. Delicate curvilinear and crosshatched designs appear on the sides of the hook and bottom of the oval button. A horned animal head in high relief serves as a finial. Simplicity of shape and subtlety of ornamentation enhance the elegance of the piece.

115 Jade garment hook
Warring States period, 4th–3d
centuries B.C.
Length 9.2 cm ($3\frac{3}{8}$ in)
15.229

The quadrilateral garment hook has a curved stem that ends in a tersely modeled animal head. The abstract forms are enhanced by the contrast between the slightly beveled edges, raised horns, and curved animal muzzle. The heavy rectangular button projects from the back of the garment hook. Particularly attractive is the striated white and gray pattern of the nephrite.

Two jade garment hooks of this general shape, although longer, are illustrated as having been found at Chin-ts'un, near Loyang, Honan Province.¹ In 1972 a jade garment hook of this type was unearthed in a

Warring States period tomb at Ling-sung-shan, Kwangtung Province.²

Jade hooks appear to have been made in China as early as those fashioned of bronze. A jade hook was found among the more than fifty pieces of different types of jade objects in a tomb dated to the late Spring and Autumn–early Warring States periods in Ku-shih-hou, Honan Province.³

facts found in tomb 1 at Ku-shih-hou, the contents have been dated to the late Spring and Autumn–early Warring States periods.

- 116 Jade garment hook
Warring States period, 4th–3d centuries B.C.
Length 7.3 cm (2⁷/₈ in)
15.230

The inverted leonine head that forms the terminus of the garment hook is noteworthy because of its proportionately large size. Details such as eyes, muzzle, and long, slender horns are clearly articulated. The convex surface of the green gray jade is decorated with relief spirals enclosed by incised grooves along the edges. Approximately one half of the jade has altered to an opaque tan. A round button projects from the back of the garment hook.

1. White, *Tombs*, pl. CLII.

2. *HW*, no. 11 (1974): 76, fig. 26.

3. "Ho-nan Ku-shih-hou ku-tui i-hao-mu fa-chüeh chien-pao," *HW*, no. 1 (1981): 1–8. Although the jade hook is not illustrated in the archaeological report, it is described as being of extremely delicate shape and good workmanship. The description appears on p. 7; the assemblage of jade objects and remains of the body appear in fig. 10. On the basis of the arti-

- 117 Jade disk, type *pi*
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Diameter 8.4 cm ($3\frac{5}{16}$ in)
32.41

Most of the surface of the disk has altered to an opaque cream, with irregular areas of translucent tan along the edge on one side. In spite of the alteration, the entire surface of the piece retains a highly polished luster. Incised curls in low relief are precisely arranged in concentric circles radiating outward from the center. Suggesting a complex variety of interrelationships, vertical and horizontal lines interlock the curls in a tightly cohesive composition.

The small scale, precise execution, and high polish are all features that relate the Freer disc to those jade pieces associated with the Warring

- States tombs at Chin-ts'un, near Lo-
yang, Honan Province.¹

1. White, *Tombs*, pls. CXXIII–CXXIV. Further support for such an attribution is provided by the inclusion of the disk in Umehara, *Rakuyō*, pl. LXXXVIII: 6.

- 118 Jade disk, type *pi*
Warring States period, 4th–3d
centuries B.C.
Diameter 13.6 cm ($5\frac{3}{8}$ in)
19.24

Large portions of this disk, of mottled pale green nephrite, have altered and appear whitish. Incised spirals modeled in low relief are bordered with a flat, raised rim. In shape, decoration, and workmanship, this disk is related to another example in the Freer collection (see cat. no. 119). Both pieces are said to have been found in Shensi Province.

119 Jade disk, type *pi*
Warring States period, 4th–3d
centuries B.C.
Diameter 12.3 cm (4⁷/₈ in)
19.29

The perforated disk of slightly irregular shape is made of translucent, dark gray green nephrite. Raised, flat borders frame the spirals, which are modeled in low relief and arranged in a geometric grid. The relatively large size of the spirals results in a dense pattern on both sides of the disk. When compared with the spiral decoration on several jades purported to have been unearthed at Chin-ts'un near Loyang, Honan Province, the density of the spirals on the Freer disk is particularly apparent.¹

Although the disk traditionally is said to have been unearthed in Shensi Province, pieces of related decoration

and workmanship have been found elsewhere.² Comparable disks are also in the Freer collection (cat. no. 118) and in the Fogg Museum.³

1. White, *Tombs*, pls. CXXV, CXXVIII, CXXXI.

2. Hui Hsien, pl. 78:20.

3. Loehr, *Jades*, p. 274.

- 120 Jade disk, type *pi*
Warring States period, 4th–3d
centuries B.C.
Diameter 10.3 cm (4 $\frac{1}{16}$ in)
39.14

The flat disk has a large central perforation and is of green gray jade with irregularly shaped areas of lighter and darker colors. Incised, slightly raised rims emphasize the inner and outer edges of the disk. Both surfaces of the disk are decorated with low relief spirals arranged in a precise geometrical pattern. The accuracy of the original attribution of the disk to Shou-chou, Anhui Province—although reasonable—cannot be ascertained.

According to traditional Chinese connoisseurship, discoloration of the type that appears on this disk is said to occur on jades that have been buried inside or in close proximity with

bronze vessels. In his discussion of “Old Jade,” Kao Lien, the late Ming dynasty connoisseur, speaks of discoloration of jade as being caused by contact with bronze vessels.¹ That theory has been repeated many times. One of the most recent statements is provided by Na Chih-liang.² Several large caches of jade have been unearthed inside bronze vessels in recent years.³ None displayed a similar color change, a circumstance that provides no support for the traditional statement.

1. Kao, *Yen-hsien ch'ing-shang chien*, I-shu tsung-pien edition (Taipei, 1961), p. 173.

2. Na, *Yü-ch'i t'ung-shih*, 2:54.

3. *KKHP* 2 (1957): 85–94, pl. III:1; *KK* 12 (1963): 646–48, pl. 4:1–2; *WW*, no. 1 (1972): 6–7.

- 121 Jade disk, type *pi*
Warring States period, 4th–3d
centuries B.C.
Diameter 9.0 cm (3 $\frac{5}{16}$ in)
16.510

Irregular, light-colored opaque areas caused by alteration partially obscure the highly polished surface of the tan brown nephrite disk. Spirals, modeled in low relief and accented with incised curling lines, are arranged over both surfaces of the disk on a widely spaced grid formation. Raised edges enclose the inner and outer perimeters of the disk. Sections of the outer rim have been damaged and repaired.

- 122 Jade disk, type *pi*
 Warring States period, 4th–3d
 centuries B.C.
 Diameter 12.3 cm ($4\frac{7}{8}$ in)
 48.12

disk is a curious feature on a piece that is otherwise so well finished. It is conceivable that a later hand reworked the piece, perhaps when it was unearthed.

The narrow flat disk is fashioned of semitranslucent pale green jade with large areas that have altered to an opaque cream. The outer edge has a sharp, slightly raised rim. Incised curls modeled in low relief are arranged in a formal geometric plan on both surfaces of the disk. Curving lines, which appear as extensions of the relief curls, provide some variation to the composition. The rigid placement of the curls contrasts with the more sensitive arrangement of linked curls on the surfaces of another disk in the Freer collection (cat. no. 117). The irregularity in the definition of the line on the inner edge of the

123 Jade disk, type *pi*
Late Warring States period, 3d
century B.C.
Diameter 17.2 cm (6¾ in)
17.85

1. White, *Tombs*, pl. CXXI, 303a; Loehr,
Jades, p. 275.

The disk of polished brown and green nephrite has a smooth, slightly conical perforation at the center. Narrow flat bands around the perforation and outer edge of the disk confine the pattern of incised spirals. Those spirals are carefully arranged so that no adjacent spirals turn in the same direction. The emphasis on incised spirals, rather than upon the low relief pattern that covers the surfaces in a regular grid, is a noteworthy feature of this disk. On stylistic grounds, the piece should be dated to the final years of the Warring States period.

Similarly decorated jade disks are illustrated by William Charles White and Max Loehr.¹

124 Jade disk, type *pi*
Late Warring States–early Western
Han periods, 3d century B.C.
Diameter 13.8 cm (5⁷/₁₆ in)
19.32

Fashioned of mottled green nephrite with irregular streaks of lighter and darker tones, this disk displays remarkably perfunctory workmanship. The incised lines around the inner and outer edges of the disk are a simplified rendering of the flat, slightly recessed edges that are found on contemporary disks of finer quality (see cat. no. 123). Incised spirals embellish the raised dots that are worked onto both surfaces of the disk within a series of irregularly designed hexagonal grids. The unevenness of craftsmanship is clearly apparent in the careless manner in which the hexagonal lines are worked into the surface.

- 125 Jade fluted ring
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Diameter 6.9 cm (2¾ in)
39.9

The flattened body of the jade ring is fluted to appear like a twisted cord, with round grooves and sharp edges. Although it is uncertain as to how such rings were used, their flattened shapes and small size suggest that they might have been applied to another surface. That interpretation is given partial support by a bronze mirror in the Fogg Museum.¹ On the Fogg mirror, a flattened ring of this type encloses a wide disk of blue-and-white eye beads set into blue glass paste. The combination of glass and jade is in keeping with the penchant for assembling and contrasting different materials, characteristic of the

- 126 Jade fluted ring
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Diameter 7.0 cm (2¾ in)
39.10

Diagonal fluting covers the surface of the slightly flattened jade ring. While the original use of this type of ring is uncertain, it may have been affixed to another surface. Traditionally said to have been found at Shou-chou, Anhui Province, the ring is related in size and decoration to several other examples in the Freer collection.

Warring States period.

The Freer ring is said to have come from Shou-chou, Anhui Province. Jade fluted rings were found in the fifth-century B.C. tomb of the Marquis of Ts'ai at Shou Hsien, Anhui Province,² the fourth-to-third-century B.C. tomb 1 at Ku-wei-ts'un, Hui Hsien, Honan Province,³ and tomb 172 at Yang-tzu-shan, Szechwan Province.⁴ A similar ring, fashioned of bone, was unearthed at Shan-piao-chen, Honan Province.⁵

1. Loehr, *Jades*, no. 524.
2. *Shou Hsien*, pls. 28:8–9, 105:10–11 and 14–15.
3. *Hui Hsien*, pl. 55:6–7.
4. *KKHP*, no. 4 (1956): pl. 5:6.
5. *SPCLLK*, p. 49, fig. 20, pl. 33:12.

- 127 Jade fluted ring
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Diameter 6.1 cm (2 $\frac{1}{16}$ in)
39.11

The fluted decoration that covers the surface of the ring is more broadly modeled than in the two previous examples, making the proportions of the round grooves and sharp edges similar to those on the rings found at the tomb of the marquis of Ts'ai at Shou Hsien, Anhui Province.¹ The broader proportions might represent a slightly earlier development of this type of jade decoration.

1. *Shou Hsien*, pls. 28:8–9, 105:10–11 and 14–15.

- 128 Jade fluted ring
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Diameter 3.4 cm (1 $\frac{3}{8}$ in)
39.12

Although smaller in scale than the three other related jade rings in the Freer collection (cat nos. 125–27), the diagonal fluting that ornaments this piece is characterized by the same degree of technical perfection. While it cannot be verified, the traditional Shou-chou provenance is reasonable.

- 129 Jade fluted disk ring
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Diameter 3.9 cm (1 $\frac{5}{16}$ in)
39.13

Fashioned of opaque white nephrite, the double-disk ring displays a fluted outer ring enclosing a smooth, flat inner disk attached by projections. Each of the three curved narrow slits that separate the inner from the outer ring shows the remains of a small round boring near one end through which a file, or other tool, was inserted to cut the slit.

The disk ring traditionally is said to be from Shou-chou, Anhui Province.

Drawings of jade, stone, and crystal rings unearthed in tomb 1 at Lang-chia-chuang, Lin-tzu, Shantung Province (after *KKHP*, no. 1 [1977]: 91).

- 130 Jade ring
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Diameter 8.3 cm ($3\frac{5}{16}$ in)
39.8

The inner and outer edges of the grayish nephrite ring are beveled on both faces. Although rings of this type are sometimes described as bracelets, it is also possible that they originally formed parts of elaborate necklaces.¹

The ring traditionally is said to have been unearthed at Shou-chou, Anhui Province.

1. Several jade and crystal ornaments, including rings with beveled edges of the type on the Freer example, were unearthed in tomb 1 at Lang-chia-chuang, Lin-tzu, Shantung Province (see *KKHP*, no. 1 [1977]: pls. 14–15).

- 131 Quartz ring
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Diameter 3.9 cm ($1\frac{1}{16}$ in)
15.319

The plain, angular surfaces of the quartz ring are separated by narrow flat intervals that function as spines on the three outer junctures. On the interior of the ring, the two planes meet to form a simple pointed ridge.

Rings of this general size and shape have been found in the Warring States period tomb near Lin-tzu, the site of the ancient capital of the state of Ch'i, in Shantung Province. Those rings were fashioned of crystal and jade and were joined with pierced round and cylindrical beads to form elaborate necklaces or pectorals.¹ It is conceivable that the ring in the Freer

collection might have been part of a similar necklace.

1. *KKHP*, no. 1 (1977): pl. 14:1–2.

- 132 Quartz ring
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Diameter 4.0 cm ($1\frac{1}{32}$)
15.340

The faceting of the outer surfaces of this quartz ring is similar to that on the previous example. The addition of a second, transitional bevel on the interior of the ring provides a subtlety of form lacking in the first example. This ring is cracked, and there are several chips along the outer edges. Green adhesions appear on the surface.

- 133 Bone with painted decoration
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Length 5.2 cm (2 in); diameter 2.6 cm
(1 in)
79.46

The hollow bone tube is oval in cross section, with some damage at one end. Curvilinear designs, consisting of recumbent C-shaped motifs and circles based on a dragon mask, are painted onto the surface of the bone in brown pigment.

A bone tube with geometric designs painted in brown pigment was among the artifacts said to have been found at Chin-ts'un, near Loyang, Honan Province.¹ From the Warring States tomb 1 at Lang-chia-chuang, near the old Ch'i capital of Lin-tzu in Shantung Province, came several bone artifacts with gold and turquoise

inlay designs.² Other examples of decorated bone were found in a Warring States period horse-and-chariot pit at Liu-li-ko and in tomb 2 at Ku-wei-ts'un, Hui Hsien, Honan Province.³

Bone decorated with painted designs may well have been used as an inexpensive substitute for ivory or bronze. However, the use of gold and turquoise inlay in the pieces found in Shantung Province and the richness of the other objects in the same tomb, which included two gold garment hooks, suggests that ancient artisans regarded bone as a material of importance equal to others.

1. White, *Tombs*, pl. CLX, no. 419.

2. *KKHP*, no. 1 (1977): 80, fig. 11, pl. VIII:3. Some mention might be made of the pottery figures, all measuring approximately ten centimeters high, that were

among the artifacts from tomb 1 at Lang-chia-chuang. Although badly damaged, several of the figurines were reassembled, and according to the archaeological report (p. 90), their surfaces were originally painted red, yellow, and black. The general form and postures of the figurines, especially the wedge-shaped faces, recall those pottery pieces associated with Hui Hsien, Honan Province, that have been the subject of considerable controversy. A group of eighteen related pottery figures was also found in Shang-ts'un-ling, Ch'ang-chih, Shansi Province (*KKHP*, no. 1 [1957]: pl. 2:1–2; *Wu-sheng*, pl. 68:1–2).

3. *Hui Hsien*, p. 52, fig. 62, pl. 67:12.

Lacquer Ware

Recent archaeological finds in the People's Republic of China have substantially increased our knowledge of early Chinese lacquer ware. While some traces of lacquer have appeared in the Shang dynasty finds at Anyang, Honan Province, those scant remains were overshadowed by the spectacular finds of bronze ritual vessels, weapons, and jade artifacts.¹ Until the last few years, it was customary in the West for discussions of Chinese lacquer to begin with the Warring States period. Additional new evidence has focused attention on the use of lacquer during the Shang dynasty and Western Chou period.

In 1973 some fragments of lacquer vessels were unearthed from a Shang dynasty site at T'ai-hsi-ts'un, Hao-ch'eng Hsien, Hopei Province.² Although the wooden cores of the vessels had already decomposed, it is clear from the archaeological report that they were extremely thin, a feature that previously was associated with lacquer made during the Warring States period. The excellent workmanship of the T'ai-hsi-ts'un fragments also raises the likelihood that lacquer ware had already been produced for some time. Judging from the fragments, the vessels included a *p'an* and a *ho*. The decoration includes motifs familiar from bronze ritual vessels: the ubiquitous t'ao-t'ieh mask, *k'uei* dragon, and *lei-wen* "thunder pattern." These motifs were rendered in black lacquer on a red ground and were further enhanced by small pieces of irregularly shaped inlaid turquoise. In other words, Shang lacquered vessels were decorated in much the same manner as were contemporary bronzes. On the basis of the limited examples known, it appears that during the earliest period of Chinese lacquer production, the decorative motifs of the bronze tradition exerted a dominant influence.

Developments in lacquer manufacture during the Western Chou period are still sparsely documented. Some important lacquer fragments, however, have been unearthed. The remains of a lacquered cup were found in a Western Chou

Drawing of lacquer vessel from tomb 410, Loyang, Honan Province (after *IWW*, no. 10 [1972]: 22).

Drawing of lacquer design from fragments unearthed in tomb 269 at Fen-shui-ling, Ch'ang-chih, Shansi Province (after *KKHP*, no. 2 [1974]: 74).

tomb in Ch'i-ch'un, Hupei Province, in 1958. With a slightly flaring lip and raised inner bottom, the oval cup is decorated in four registers that include motifs clearly indebted to the bronze tradition. The decoration is executed in red lacquer on black or brown ground.³

The richest archaeological finds of early Chinese lacquered vessels now known date from the Eastern Chou period. Published reports have shown that Ch'ang-sha, Hunan Province, within the territory of the ancient state of Ch'u, continues to yield the largest numbers of lacquered artifacts.⁴ Other Ch'u sites to the north—including those at Chiang-ling, Hupei Province, and Hsin-yang, Honan Province—however, are also emerging as important lacquer centers.⁵

Even more surprising are finds from Eastern Chou sites in Shansi and Shantung provinces. Among the rich finds from Fen-shui-ling at Ch'ang-chih, Shansi Province, were a number of lacquer fragments. Some appear to have been portions of boxes; the majority are decorated with intricate motifs, most of which consist of interlaced serpentine bands. Virtually identical designs appear on bronze ritual vessels found in the same tombs.⁶

Drawings of lacquer designs from tomb
1, Lang-chia-chuang, Lin-tzu, Shantung
Province (after KKHP, no. 1 [1977]: 82).

In Shantung Province a number of fifth-to-fourth-century B.C. lacquer fragments were found at Lin-tzu, the site of the capital of the state of Ch'i during the Warring States period.⁷ According to the archaeological report, the fragments included a ram-shaped vessel and a guardian animal, as well as several rectangular and circular designs. The designs on the rectangular and circular fragments maintain an even balance between figure and ground, reflecting the continuing influence of contemporary bronze decoration. One unusual lacquer fragment decorated with birds, plants, and human figures must be among the earliest examples of that type of representation in lacquer. Unfortunately, the animal-shaped fragments briefly mentioned in the report were not reproduced. Even taking into consideration the early date of the lacquer fragments from Lin-tzu, the formality of the lacquer decoration as compared with that from the state of Ch'u suggests that it may be a distinct regional style.

The importance of these finds in Shansi and Shantung provinces is that they indicate the existence of lacquer production in areas that were part of the ancient states of Chin and Ch'i. The Lin-tzu finds also support the mention in traditional classical texts of lac tree cultivation in Shantung.⁸

On the basis of material currently available, it appears that the decoration of the earliest Chou dynasty lacquer continues the Shang reliance upon bronze motifs. During the Eastern Chou, lacquer craftsmen experimented with fluid calligraphic forms appropriate to the medium. These innovations were continued during the Warring States period, when the decoration of lacquered artifacts developed in directions that can only be understood in terms of a versatile, even witty, fluency of brush and pigment.

Notes

1. Kao Ch'ü-hsün, *Chung-kuo k'ao-ku pao-kao chi*, 3, *Hou-chia-chuang* (Taipei, 1962), vol. 2, tomb 1001, pt. I, pp. 56-69, vol. 5, tomb 1004, pp. 29-31. For a discussion of the use of lacquer in the decoration of leather armor during the Shang dynasty, see Hayashi, *Chūgoku*, pp. 404-5.

2. *WW*, no. 8 (1974): 42-49, pl. 1. More lacquer fragments are illustrated in *Ho-pei*, colorpl. 2, top, and pl. 55.

3. *KK*, no. 1 (1962): 1-9, fig. 11. For other examples of Western Chou lacquer, see *WW*, no. 10 (1972): 20-31, fig. 5:1, from tomb 410, dated to the early-middle Western Chou, was found a lacquered support inlaid with mother-of-pearl; *KKHP*, no. 8 (1954): 125, fig. 23, from tomb 1, dated to the early Western Chou, were found mother-of-pearl disks inlaid on covered lacquered vessels; *STLK*, p. 19, pl. XL1:2, from tomb 1704, dated before 655 B.C., sixteen covered lacquered vessels inlaid with mother-of-pearl were found.

4. A convenient summary of information about Ch'ang-sha sites is provided by Cheng Te-k'un, *Chou China*, pp. 162-69. Wen Tao-i discusses 209 Ch'u tombs found in the southeastern suburbs of Ch'ang-sha in the years between 1952 and 1956 in *KKHP*, no. 1 (1959): 41-58.

5. For these other Ch'u sites, see *WWTKTL*, no. 1 (1958): 5-8, 15-23; *WW*, no. 2 (1963): 10-12, no. 9 (1964): 23-32, no. 5 (1966): 33-55; *KK*, no. 3 (1973); Juliano, "Three Large Ch'u Graves Recently Excavated in the Chiangling District of Hupei Province," pp. 5-17.

6. *KKHP*, no. 1 (1957): 103-18, pl. 6; *KK*, no. 3 (1964): 111-36, fig. 5; *KKHP*, no. 2 (1974): 63-84, fig. 12, pl. 6:3-4.

7. *KKHP*, no. 1 (1977): 100-102.

8. These textual references are conveniently summarized by So Yu-ming in *Chung-kuo ch'i-kung-i yen-chiu lun-chi* (Taipei, 1977), pp. 1-12.

- 134 Lacquered stem cup
 Warring States period, 5th–4th
 centuries B.C.
 Height 23.5 cm (9¼ in); width 17.9
 cm (7⅛ in)
 49.1

The stem cup is constructed of three separate pieces of carved wood: cup, stem, and base. Two pairs of highly stylized long-necked cranes decorate the large handles, while a dragon ornaments the center of the inner surface of the cup. The black lacquer outer surfaces of the stem cup are decorated with geometric designs on the stem and base of the vessel. The simple abstract designs on the outer surface of the cup, with the outspoken emphasis upon symmetry, apparently were based on those that appear on contemporary inlaid bronzes.

The contrast of the relatively awk-

Detail of interior

ward presentation of the dragon on the interior of the cup and elegant attenuated curvilinear abstract designs on the exterior proclaims the earliness of the cup and heralds the direction to be taken in the decoration of Chinese lacquer during the succeeding centuries of the Warring States period.

Formerly in the John Hadley Cox collection, the stem cup is said to have been unearthed at Ch'ang-sha, Hunan Province, during late 1936 or early 1937. Although a Ch'ang-sha provenance cannot be ruled out, it should be noted that in its size and in the unusual shape of the wing-tipped handles, the Freer cup is quite similar to one unearthed in tomb 2 at Ch'ang-t'ai-kuan, Hsin-yang Hsien, Honan Province, which is still within the territory of the state of Ch'u.¹

1. *WWTCTL*, no. 7 (1957): cover.

- 135 Lacquered wine cup, type *yü-shang*
Warring States period, 5th–4th
centuries B.C.
Height 5.0 cm (1¹⁵/₁₆ in); length 17.1
cm (6³/₄ in)
47.24

The winged wine cup, or *yü-shang*, consisting of a low oval container and two longitudinal flange handles, was a common shape in late Eastern Chou China. Artisans used a wide variety of materials to manufacture cups of this type, including jade, silver, ceramic, mother-of-pearl, and, as here, lacquer over wood. The contrast of the geometric birds in the band beneath the rim and calligraphic rendering of the deer and quatrefoil design on the handles reflects the transition between a dependence upon the tight, elaborate style of inlaid bronze decoration and the more painterly style

that evolved from the lacquer medium.

The Freer cup is said to have come from a tomb in Ch'ang-sha, Hunan Province, a provenance strongly supported by its close similarity to a cup found in 1954 in tomb 6 at Yangchia-wan, in the suburbs of Ch'ang-sha.¹

1. Shang Ch'eng-tso, *Ch'ang-sha ch'u-t'u Ch'u ch'i-ch'i t'u-lu*, pp. 51–52.

Detail of profile

- 136 Lacquered bowl
Warring States period, 4th–3d
centuries B.C.
Height 5.5 cm ($2\frac{1}{32}$ in); diameter 27.1
cm ($11\frac{1}{16}$ in)
53.8

The bowl is the finest example of early Chinese lacquer ware in the Freer collection. As is the case with the lacquered tray (cat. no. 137) and ewer (cat. no. 138), the lustrous surface of the bowl was achieved by applying an undercoat of black lacquer. In those areas where the black lacquer appears through the brown, the coloristic effect is greatly enhanced.

In terms of stylistic development, the geometric design on the everted rim of the bowl—consisting of diamond lozenges, curls, and dots—is most conservative, reflecting the influence of motifs on inlaid bronze

vessels. More typical of a purely lacquer technique are the abstract units enclosed within thin horizontal lines and repeated three times on the interior and exterior sides of the bowl. The lacquer artisan displays his extraordinary artistic and technical versatility in the elegant fantasy of forms on the interior of the bowl. Here again, the designs are repeated three times, radiating from the central circle. Curving lines of threadlike delicacy link the center with the adjacent register. The main forms in the design combine pure abstraction with surrealistic references to nature. The forms, which suggest rather than describe animals, birds, and plants, are executed in miniature. Using a limited palette of red and maroon, the craftsman introduced an astonishing variety of tones and textures.

While the majority of Warring

States lacquer is constructed with thin wooden cores, this bowl is unusual in having a fabric core. That mode of construction results in a vessel of special lightness, a quality that must have been of overriding consideration, since the clear differentiation between base, sides, and everted lip could more easily have been achieved with a wooden core.

Detail of profile

- 137 Lacquered tray
Warring States period, 4th–3d
centuries B.C.
Height 3.8 cm (1½ in); diameter 31.2
cm (12¼ in)
54.19

Fitted with vertical sides and a narrow everted lip, the circular tray sits on a broad ring foot. A layer of black lacquer beneath the brown lacquered ground enriches the otherwise subdued tonality. This same subtle combination of black and brown occurs on the surface of the lacquered bowl (cat. no. 136) and ewer (cat. no. 138) in the Freer collection.

Guidelines lightly scratched into the lacquer ground indicate the circular and diagonal skeleton upon which the lacquer craftsman added smaller, abstract motifs. Those motifs become increasingly freer and fanciful as they

radiate from the formal quatrefoil rosette at the center of the interior of the tray. Although considerably more imaginative, the motifs in the adjacent ring are arranged symmetrically with specific regard for the four points of the central quatrefoil. Those same motifs are repeated on the inner and outer surfaces of the vertical sides of the tray. A possible source for the triangles, curls, and “eyes” that constitute this band of decoration are the inlay patterns on bronze rings such as that in the Guennol collection.¹ Another inlaid ring was described as being the lip ornament for a ceramic or lacquer vessel.²

An angular motif is repeated ten times on the narrow everted rim of the Freer tray. Broad bands of mat red lacquer separate the central rings from the outer ring, which displays a nimble sophistication in the handling

of diagonals and curls. The overall arrangement is indebted to the curving bands seen on elegantly inlaid bronze vessels, such as the small *hu* in the Art Institute of Chicago.³ In adapting the inlaid motifs for use in lacquer decoration, the artisan made changes that indicate a growing independence of the lacquer technique. Small accents resembling stylized flame or fauna motifs replace the purely geometric curls of the inlay designs. The designs are rendered in a rich palette of yellow, red, and maroon. The brilliance of the lacquer technique in the outermost ring is characteristic of the late Warring States when craftsmen were seeking to exploit the viscous lacquer medium.

Shang Ch'eng-tso has discussed the Freer tray in his monograph on lacquer artifacts from Ch'ang-sha.⁴ Several other lacquer pieces in that mon-

Lacquered container with bronze fittings from tomb 172, Yang-tzu-shan, Ch'eng-tu, Szechwan Province (after *KKHP*, no. 4 [1956]: pl. 7).

ograph bear motifs strikingly similar to those on the Freer tray; particularly, a rectangular tray unearthed in 1941 at Huang-t'u-ling in the suburbs of Ch'ang-sha.⁵ All of those pieces presumably were part of a set and were produced in the same workshop.

1. Lochr, *Bronzes*, no. 78.

2. *The Exhibition of Archaeological Finds of the People's Republic of China*. An illustrated handlist of a loan exhibition held at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., December 13, 1974–March 30, 1975, and William Rockhill Nelson Gallery and Atkins Museum of Fine Arts, Kansas City, Mo., April 20–June 8, 1975, no. 134. Similar bronze rings inlaid with gold and silver were found in tomb 172 at Yang-tzu-shan near Ch'eng-tu, Szechwan Province (*KKHP*, no. 4 [1956]: 14–16, pl. 7). Those rings were affixed to the top and bottom of a covered lacquer box,

which was found in excellent condition because it had been placed within a bronze vessel at the time of burial. According to the archaeological report, several other lacquer vessels from the same tomb also had metal fittings. Another group of Warring States lacquer pieces fitted with inlaid bronze rings and other decoration was unearthed in the vicinity of Peking, the area occupied by the ancient state of Yen (*WW*, no. 3 [1978]: 89). Finally, some bronze inlaid rings that apparently were meant for some now-lost lacquered objects were found in Shansi Province (*WWTKTL*, no. 9 [1954]: pl. 17). These archaeological finds clearly link inlaid bronze fittings and lacquered vessels. They help to explain the close relationship between the inlaid metal designs and painted lacquer motifs. Since lacquered vessels were more susceptible to damage, it is understandable that many of the metal fittings have survived while the original lacquered vessels to which they were attached have been lost.

3. Kelley and Ch'en, *Chinese Bronzes from the Buckingham Collection*, pl. LVIII.

4. Shang Ch'eng-tso, *Ch'ang-sha ch'u-t'u Ch'u ch'i-ch'i t'u-hu*, pp. 38–40.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 10–11.

138 Lacquered ewer
Late Warring States–early Western
Han periods, 3d century B.C.
Length 30.7 cm (12 $\frac{1}{8}$ in)
49.22

Probably a wooden version of similar vessels made in bronze,¹ the ewer is in the form of a recumbent animal, its four legs placed close to its sides. Projecting from the large open mouth is a curved pouring spout. The remarkably thin horizontal handle is joined to the body by raised curvilinear ornaments. Covering the surface of the animal are flattened foliate forms that suggest rather than define musculature. These elegantly designed motifs can only be understood as formalistic features. The black lacquer surface of the vessel has been highlighted with light brown lacquer, a ground that also appears on two

other pieces in the Freer collection (cat. nos. 136–37). There is no trace of any other painted lacquer decoration. The lacquer surface is extensively cracked on the handle and on those areas where the wooden core has shrunk.

The ewer traditionally is said to have come from Ch'ang-sha, Hunan Province. At present, there is no way to confirm or deny that provenance, although it should be noted that some lacquered carvings from Chiang-ling, Hupei Province,² and Hsin-yang, Honan Province,³ bear important relationships to the Freer ewer.

A lacquered wooden vessel in the form of a reclining tiger and approximately the same size as the Freer ewer was unearthed in 1952 at I-cheng Hsien, Kiangsu Province.⁴ Assigned to the Han dynasty, the container from I-cheng Hsien is more

simply modeled than the Freer example. Another lacquered wooden vessel in the same shape and measuring thirty centimeters long was found in tomb 3 in a group of Han dynasty burials at Yang-chou, Kiangsu Province.⁵

There is some uncertainty about the original function of these vessels. They are traditionally said to have been urinals, and in the Han dynasty stone reliefs from I-nan, a similar example is shown in a context that would support that theory.⁶ Some Six Dynasties celadon vessels of related size and shape, however, have been found together with food vessels, raising speculation that they might have been wine containers. A celadon vessel unearthed in a tomb in Nan-king in 1955 bears an incised inscription datable to A.D. 251.⁷ A discussion of the alternate usages of this

Lacquered vessel unearthed at I-cheng Hsien, Kiangsu Province (after *Chiang-su*, pl. 117).

type of vessel is provided by Chü Ssu-hua and Li Chien-chao.⁸

1. *Brundage Bronzes*, pl. LVII, center.

2. *W'W*, no. 5 (1966): 45, fig. 17.

3. *W'WTKTL*, no. 9 (1957): color frontispiece.

4. *Chiang-su*, pl. 117.

5. Yang-chou po-wu-kuan, "Yang-chou Tung-feng chuan-wa-ch'ang Han-tai mu-kuo mu-ch'ün," pp. 417-25, pl. 11:3.

6. *I-nan*, pl. 78.

7. *Chiang-su*, pl. 125.

8. Chü Ssu-hua and Li Chien-chao, "Nan-ching Mei-chia-shan Liu-ch'ao mu ch'ing-li chi-lüeh," *W'WTKTL*, no. 4 (1956): 18.

Rubbing of funerary relief from I-nan, Shantung Province (after *I-nan*, pl. 78).

Key to Abbreviated References

AA	<i>Artibus Asiae</i>		Reports on Chinese Field Archaeology, vol. 1. Peking, 1956.
AAA	<i>Archives of Asian Art</i>		
BMFEA	<i>Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities</i>	I-nan	<i>I-nan ku-hua-hsiang shih-mu fa-chüeh pao-kao</i> . Peking, 1956.
Brundage Bronzes	d'Argencé, René-Yvon Lefebvre. <i>Ancient Chinese Bronzes in the Avery Brundage Collection</i> . San Francisco, 1966.	Karlbeck, "Weapons"	Karlbeck, Orvar. "Ancient Chinese Bronze Weapons." <i>The China Journal of Science and Arts</i> 3 (1925): 127–32, 199–206.
Ch'ang-sha	Hsia Nai et al. <i>Ch'ang-sha fa-chüeh pao-kao</i> . Institute of Archaeology, Academia Sinica, Archaeological Monograph ser. D, no. 2. Peking, 1957.	Karlgren, "Agraffes"	Karlgren, Bernhard. "Chinese Agraffes in Two Swedish Collections." <i>Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities</i> , no. 38 (1966): 83–159.
Cheng-chou	Cheng-chou Erh-li-kang. Institute of Archaeology, Academia Sinica, Archaeological Monograph ser. D, vol. 7. Peking, 1959.	KK	<i>Kaogu</i>
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